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Some Social Factors Relating to the Growth of Communism in India

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**SOME SOCIAL FACTORS RELATING TO THE GROWTH OF
COMMUNISM IN INDIA**

By

Reverend Francis Sales, T.O.C.D. (India)

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
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VITA

Reverend Francis Sales, T.O.C.D. (family name: Jacob Varghese Muzhumury), was born at Mallappally, Travancore Cochin State, on September 8, 1904.

He was graduated from St. Ephrem's Carmelite High School in 1923 and entered the novitiate of the Syro-Malabar Discalced Carmelites the same year. He received the Carmelite habit in the same year and was given the name of Francis DeSales of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. From 1925 to 1934 the author was at St. Joseph's Jesuit Inter-Diocesan Seminary, Mangalore. Here he had his two-year course in humanities, three years of philosophy, and four years of theology. He was graduated summa cum laude in 1934, and was ordained to the priesthood the same year. Immediately after ordination he was appointed as secretary to his superior general and held this position for six years. In 1939 he was elected Prior of the Sacred Heart Monastery at Thevara; he remained as Prior here until 1947. The Sacred Heart University College of Thevara was opened in 1944, and the author became the first president of that institution.

The Government of Cochin appointed the author as a member of the Cochin Education Code Revision Committee. In submitting the joint report of the committee to the government, the author wrote a dissenting minute on behalf of moral instruction and religious teaching in the schools of the state.

He served for six years as secretary and for three years as president of the Travancore Cochin Catholic School Managers' Association.

His services were loaned to the Archdiocese of Trivandrum for three years, where he filled the office of Vicar General of the Archdiocese.

In 1953 he was elected Provincial Procurator and President of Sacred Heart College. The University of Madras elected and appointed him Chairman of the Board of Studies (Dean) in Oriental languages.

In 1954 he entered Loyola University to study sociology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The original idea of the present writer was to concentrate on the subject of the growth of Communism in the Travancore Cochin state, with which he is especially familiar. Major issues, however, facing the whole of India in regard to the Communist menace persuaded the author to deal with the subject from a more general outlook. He was obliged to bestow only partial attention to the Travancore Cochin state. Considerations of time and space would not permit him to make full use of a variety of materials he had collected. He is fully conscious of the consequent drawbacks.

The author avails himself of this opportunity to give expression to his sentiments of profound gratitude to the President and the entire faculty of the Loyola University for enabling him to take his Master's degree in the shortest time possible and for the generous grant of a scholarship. He wishes to record his appreciation of kindness and sympathy on the part of the Reverend Jeremiah O'Callaghan, S.J., the Vice-president, and the Reverend Stewart E. Dollard, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School, for the aid so generously extended to him. He would ever cherish the memory of the goodness and loving patronage of the Reverend Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Chairman of the Department of Sociology. Dr. Paul Mundy, the esteemed professor and instructor of the author, spared no pains in going through the rough copy of the thesis to make the necessary alterations and corrections; and to him the author is greatly obliged. To Dr. Gordon Zahn, the author is grateful for his kind and critical observation. The author expresses his thanks to Dr. Charles Anred, Reverend

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ideal of Mahatma Gandhi,¹ his practical philosophy of a life of love, peace, and non-violence (satyagraha), has gone deep into the heart of every Indian, and the Indians believe in Gandhism. He was indeed the great Indian of whom every Indian is proud. He was the faithful interpreter of real Indian thought and culture and the spokesman for India. Paradoxically enough, the whole world has begun to wonder whether the Indian people will follow the noble path of peace and non-violence chalked out by Gandhiji, or the bloody path of hatred and violence preached by Marx, Engel, Lenin, and Stalin. Will India adhere to Gandhism, or will she be absorbed by Marxism? This is the most crucial question.

It is appalling to think for a moment that the people of India would listen to the materialistic tenets of Marxism, which is atheistic, and turn a deaf ear to the spiritual principles of Gandhism. But we have to face

¹ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), often known as Mahatma (Great Soul) Gandhi or "Gandhiji" with an honorific "ji" to his name, was the great Indian patriot and leader. The nationalist movement of "swaraj" for self-government in India was led and brought to victory by him. He propounded the theory and initiated the practice of "satyagraha" (passive resistance), which proved more successful than many of the most spectacular revolutions in history. He gave a new orientation to politics, economics, education, and social life, and strove for spiritualizing everything in society and life. For more information about Gandhi and Gandhian principles, refer to Louis Fisher, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951.

facts. The pivotal geographical position of the continent of India among the Asian nations of the world; the overwhelming and almost bewildering population of India; the social and economic miseries to which the teeming millions of India are exposed; the sad story of her neighbors like Burma and China; the lack of political unity and solidarity in the Congress Party, which is in power and the laborious attempts of the Communist Party in India to exploit the Indian situation to its advantage--these factors make any casual observer apprehend an impending gloom of a huge communist threat to India.

The Soviet leaders, particularly Stalin, often exhorted their satellites: "Do not forget the East," and "Ex Oriente Lux." At a conference of Moslem Communists who were to make propaganda in India, China, and Iran, Stalin declared, "Once and for all you must learn the truth that he who wants the triumph of socialism [Communism] cannot afford to forget the East."² These were Stalin's feelings about thirty years before his death, when the Red Star had already begun to shine over the Asian horizon. And Lenin had pointed out much earlier that "the road from Moscow to Paris lies through Peking, Shanghai and Calcutta."³

This mission, which the founding fathers of Communism entrusted to their followers, has been faithfully carried out by the Communist Party in India by means of organizations like The Indian People's Theatre Association, The Friends of the Soviet Union, The Progressive Writers' Association, The

2 S. R. Mohan Das, Communist Activity in India, Bombay, 1950, p. 1. The author is an ardent Congress worker. He is connected with the Democratic Research Service (D.R.S.), Bombay, and contributes to its work.

3 Ibid.

Bolshevik Party, The Democratic Youth Federation, The All India Trade Union Congress, and so forth. Sri S. R. Mohan Das, writing in 1950, made a prophecy which has been verified:

While it is true that the Communist Party in India is much too weak by itself to amount to a serious threat to the internal security in India, the fact remains that with China already within the Soviet orbit and communist armies likely to be poised along India's Tibetan frontiers before long, Stalin has in the Communist Party of India a dagger pointed at the heart of democracy in the largest free country in the world.⁴

News reached the author after he arrived in the United States of America in March, 1954, that in the recent elections held in February-March, 1954, in the Travancore Cochin State of South India, the Congress party contested 115 seats and won only 45 of them (about 40 per cent), while the communists contested 36 seats and won 23 (almost 60 per cent). Fully alive to the strategic position of the Travancore Cochin state, some of the Congress leaders marched down to the scene of the electorates "in triumphal procession" to advise the electors to rally round the Congress and to be on their guard against communist propaganda. Even the dynamic personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, did not help the Congress much against the communists. Travancore Cochin is one of the most enlightened of all Indian states and one where Christianity is comparatively strong. The Communist Party has been almost desperately directing its energies to this state, with a certain amount of success, and most of the Communist Party's leaders are from Travancore Cochin. A special chapter, therefore, is added in this paper on this state.

⁴ Mohan Das, Communist Activity, p. 16. Sri S. R. Mohan Das is a sworn enemy of communists and has contributed many papers to the Democratic Research Service and the Pacific Relations Conference.

The author has most often been asked by friends during his short stay in the United States about the communist clouds hovering about the Indian atmosphere. Hence, when he was called upon to present a thesis to Loyola University for his master's degree in sociology, it seemed only fitting that he take as his theme: "Some Social and Economic Factors Relating to Communism in India."

CHAPTER II

INDIA TODAY

Topography. Situated at the center of the continent of Asia, India is one of the largest and oldest countries in the world. In shape India is like an inverted triangle, with its base resting on the Himalayas--the loftiest mountain range in the world--to the north, and its apex running far into the south into the ocean. At the southern extremity the triangle tapers to a point called Cape Comorin.

India is bounded by the Himalayan mountain ranges on the north, Pakistan on the northwest, the hill ranges of Burma on the northeast, the Arabian Sea on the west, the Indian Ocean on the south, and the Bay of Bengal on the east. Broadly speaking, therefore, India is cut off from the mainland of Asia by the Himalayan mountains. Going from west to east along the country's land frontier are Pakistan, Chinese Turkestan, Tibet, China, Burma, and the eastern part of Pakistan. In the south the country is surrounded on all sides by water.

Geographically the land mass of India consists of the territories contained in the Union of India, the Portuguese possessions of Goa, Damuan, and Diu, and the French possessions of Mahe, Karikkal, Pondicherry, and Yanam.

Area.¹ India is about 1,700 miles from east to west and about

1 G. D. Binani and T. V. Ramarao, India At a Glance, Calcutta, 1953, p. 99.

2000 miles from north to south. Its land frontier is about 7100 miles long and the sea frontier about 4100 miles. The total land area is 1,269,640 square miles. Hence, in area it is the fourth largest country in the world, 1/33 part of the land surface of the globe, equal to Europe minus U.S.S.R. and half of the United States of America.

Political Divisions - The Union of India, also referred to as the Republic of India, consists of the following 29 states:

States	Capitals
1. Andhra	Kurnool
2. Assam	Shillong
3. Bihar	Patna
4. Bombay	Bombay
5. Madhya Pradesh (Formerly Central Province)	Nagpur
6. Madras	Madras
7. Orrissa	Cuttack
8. Punjab	Chandigarth
9. Uttar Pradesh (Formerly Upper Province)	Lucknow
10. West Bengal	Calcutta
11. Hyderabad	Hydrabad
12. Jammu and Kashmir	Srinagar
13. Madhya Bharat	Gwalior
14. Mysore	Banaglore
15. Patials and East Punjab States Union	Patiala
16. Rajesthan	Jaipur
17. Surashetra	Rajkot
18. Vindhya Pradesh	Rewa
19. Ajmere	Ajmere
20. Bilaspur	Simla
21. Bhopal	Bhopal
22. Coorg	Mercara
23. Himachal Pradesh	Bilaspur
24. Kutch	Bhuj
25. Manipur	Imphal
26. Tripura	Agartala
27. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	Port Blair
28. Delhi	New Delhi
29. Travancore Cochin	Trivandrum

Population. The census report of India taken in 1951 is perhaps the most thorough and reliable one.² The total population is 356.8 million. The entire population is divided into two broad occupational classes: the agricultural classes (242.2 million, or 69.8 per cent), and the non-agricultural classes (107.6 million, or 30.2 per cent).

Religion. Religion has been of profound influence on the people of India throughout her long history. It was religion that helped India to maintain her ancient culture and civilization; and--it must also be stated--it was religion that brought about the disintegration of India. According to the latest census, the religious composition is given in Table I.³

TABLE I
THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF INDIA

Religion	Thousands	Per cent
Hindus	303,202	84.99
Mohammedans	35,400	9.93
Christians	8,900	2.30
Sikhs	6,200	1.74
Jains	1,600	.45
Buddhists	200	.06
Zoroastrians	100	.03
Jews	27	
Tribal religions	1,700	.47
Non-tribal religions	100	.03

² The Government of India, Indian Census Report, 1941-1951, New Delhi, 1953, p. 99.

³ Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 1773.

Languages. The linguistic survey of India enumerated 179 languages and 544 dialects. For purposes of literature, education, and public life, however, only 14 major literary languages are reckoned. An attempt is being made to make Hindi the lingua franca of India; English is being retained for the most part.

National Income.⁴ To find the true national income of the country, the Government of India appointed, in August, 1949, the National Income Committee, which estimated the national income of India for 1948-1949 to be Rs. 8,730 Crores.⁵

The per capita income for that year came to Rs. 255 (about \$54.00). The national income for 1949-1950 was estimated to be Rs. 9,010 Crores, and the per capita income Rs. 253-9-0 (about \$53.50). For the year 1950-1951, the figure for national income was Rs. 9,530 Crores, while the per capita income for the same year was Rs. 265-2-0 (about \$56.00).

The Constitution of the Indian Union. The Constituent Assembly under the presidency of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, meeting in plenary session on November 26, 1950, formally adopted the constitution of the Indian Union, which had been three years in the making. The constitution, which ushered in the sovereign Democratic Republic of India as a partner in the commonwealth of nations, was inaugurated on Independence Day, January 26, 1950. It has been described as the longest and most elaborate document of its type in the

⁴ Ibid., pp. 1041-43.

⁵ According to the Indian method of quoting numbers, over 10,000 special terms are used. One Lakh is 100,000, and 10 Lakhs and 100 Lakhs equals one million, i.e., one crore equals 10 millions. One hundred American dollars is equivalent to R 470 (Rupees), i.e., 1 Re. equals 21 cents.

world. It is made up of 395 Articles and 8 Schedules. Diverse elements have gone into its making: the Cabinet system of Great Britain, the Presidential system of the United States of America, the Constitution of the Irish Free State, and the Japanese constitution. The ideology of the Nationalist movement, led by the Indian National Congress and Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, provided the basic principles and objectives that determined its character.

General Elections - The first general elections under the new Constitutions of the state and central legislatures were held from December, 1951, to January, 1952. The Congress Party, returned in an absolute majority to the House of the People and to most of the state legislative assemblies, proceeded to form governments. Only in four states (Pepsu, Orissa, Madras, and Travancore Cochin) the Congress failed to secure majorities.

Consequent upon the fall of the ministry in the state of Travancore Cochin in 1953, another general election was held in that state in March, 1954. The congress failed to secure the required majority, and the Socialists with the help and cooperation of the Congress have formed the ministry.

Political Parties - Desiring to capture seats both in the central legislatures and in the state assemblies, many parties came up during the last general elections. Fourteen parties have been recognized as All-India parties. The following are the principal ones: (1) the Congress, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President of the Republic and Pandit Jawaharal Nehru as the Prime Minister; and (2) the Praja Socialist Party.

Education - The existing system of education in India is far from

satisfactory. It provides for only 40 per cent of the children in the age group from 6 to 11, 10 per cent in the age group from 11 to 17, and .9 per cent in the age group from 17 to 23, whereas the Constitution requires that within 10 years of its commencement free and compulsory education should be provided for all children up to the age of 14.

The number of educational institutions is shown in Table II.⁶

TABLE II
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND STUDENT ENROLLMENTS
IN INDIA IN 1951

Type of school	Number of Schools	Enrollment
Universities	30	304,324
Colleges for general education	504	57,716
Professional colleges	213	
Colleges for special education	99	
Secondary schools	20,981	5,225,454
Primary schools	210,112	18,352,383
Pre-primary schools	305	35,144
Vocational and technical schools	2,162	164,904
Research institutions	20	

The total number of students at all the institutions in the year 1950-1951 was 25,826,365.

Labor. Industrial development in India dates from the second half of the nineteenth century, when the first cotton and jute mills were started in Bombay and Bengal. The trend of the Indian labor movement from 1875 to 1918 was chiefly characterized by a tendency to petition, memorialize, and

⁶ Ibid., p. 1389.

seek redress of grievances by mild pressure. The first trade union with regular membership was founded in Madras in 1918.

The Constitution of India guarantees to the laborers their legitimate rights and privileges.

The total number of workers in the year 1950-1951 was about 65,000,000.⁷ Of these, 2,468,280 were employed in factories. There were 4,277 trade unions on the register, and the membership of the unions was 2,022,434.

The labor force may be roughly divided as follows:⁸ factory workers, 2,950,000; railway workers, 1,400,000; plantation workers, 1,200,000; miners, 500,000; central public works, 200,000; posts and telegraphs, 200,000; major ports, 50,000.

A Few Basic Facts about India. Although about 75 per cent of the population of the Indian Union depend upon agriculture for a livelihood, only about 18 per cent of the total crop area (roughly 50 million acres) has been brought under cultivation; the rest depends upon the vagaries of rainfall.

The temperature normally ranges from 120° F. to 40° F. In winter the temperature goes down to 30° in certain places. Rainfall varies from 5 inches in parts of the desert to 425 inches Cherapunji in Assam.

The Government of India's estimated revenue⁹ for 1953-1954 is Rs.

7 Ibid., p. 138.

8 Ibid., p. 999.

9 Ibid., p. 366.

439.26 crores and the expenditure Rs. 438.81 crores.

The main crops are rice, wheat, barley, maize, Jowar, Bajara, and pulses.

The amount of cotton yarn produced in 1952 was 1,448 million pounds; cloth, 4,603 million yards; steel, 1.1 million tons; coal, 36 million tons; and of cement, 3.5 million tons.

The total mileage of all railways in 1952 is 34,331; unsurfaced roads, 160,000 miles; and surfaced roads, 90,200 miles. The total number of motor vehicles was 310,145; and bullock carts, 9,630,975. There are 5,200 miles of navigable waterways, and five major ports. The air routes number 50, and they are served by 75 airdromes.

India is called the "epitome of the world," because almost all natural phenomena and peculiar attributes are to be found here. High mountains, deep seas, dense forests, bays, lakes, waterfalls, gorges, fountains, rivers, different climatic conditions, almost all the living animals, and almost all the known mineral deposits are to be found within the borders of India.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN INDIA

Historic Survey

The first seeds of communism were sown on the Indian soil four years after the Russian Revolution.¹ A handful of enthusiastic young men from different parts of the country imagined that all the varied problems of India could be solved by the Russian methods. In 1918 Mr. Edwin Samuel Montague, British Secretary for India, referred to the influence which the Russian Revolution was having on the Indian people:

The revolution of Russia in its beginning was regarded in India as a triumph over despotism; and notwithstanding the fact that it has since involved that unhappy country in anarchy and dismemberment, it has given impetus to Indian political aspirations.²

In the same year, the Indian Communists called upon Russia "to stretch a fraternal hand to oppressed India."³ Although the Government of India tried its best to combat the movement, the influence of a few Communists inspired

¹ M. R. Masani, The Communist Party of India: A Short History, London, 1954, p. 2.

² Ibid., 14.

³ India and Communism. M. R. Masani has managed to unearth a few confidential papers from the Home Department of the Government of India, under the heading, "India and Communism," where there are several references to the genesis of communism in India.

by the British Communists, spread rapidly among some segments of the working classes in Bombay, Cawnpore, Calcutta and other places. Industrial unrest began to sweep over the land. It was a time when the Indian nationalist movement was gaining ground among the people. The shrewd leaders of the Communists in Moscow saw this as the opportunity for them to act. They advised the Indian comrades to infiltrate the national movement and thereby to exploit it and the Civil Disobedience to their greatest advantage. In 1919 The Third International decided to support nationalist movements in the East "as they tend to upset the existing authority, while not opposing revolutionary aspirations."⁴ In 1920 at the Third Congress of the Comintern, Lenin said:

British India is at the head of these countries, and there revolution is maturing in proportion to the growth of the Industrial and railway proletariat on the one hand and to the increase in the brutal terrorism of the British - who are more frequently resorting to massacres (Amritsar), public floggings - on the other.⁵

On September 1, 1928, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (then Comintern) met at Moscow and adopted the famous resolution entitled, "The Revolutionary Movement in Colonies and Semi-colonies." The resolution clearly stated what definite strategems and tactics the Communist workers should adopt in countries like China and India. A few passages from the same resolution read:

⁴ Quoted by Masani, op. cit., p. 31-2. Masani has been a close associate of both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. He was the mayor of Bombay (1943-44), then a member of the first central legislature (1945-47), then of the Constituent Assembly of India (1947-48) and finally of the Union Parliament (1949). He was the first Indian Ambassador in Brazil.

⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

As in all colonies and semi-colonies, so also in China and India, the development of production forces and the socialization of labor stands at a comparatively low level. In the revolutionary movement of these countries, the following kinds of tasks can be pointed out. Emancipation of the country from the yoke of imperialism, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry; consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat, strengthening of the Communist Party and its conquest of a firm leading position among the toiling masses.⁶

The Resolution has even dictated the slogans which the party was to make use of. "The fundamental slogans through which the party must seek to win over the masses are: Overthrow of the imperialist domination; Union with the U.S.S.R.; and the world proletarian movement."⁷

Dealing with India specifically, the resolution pointed out that the basic task of the Indian Communist consisted in the struggle against British imperialism for emancipation of the country, in the union of all the Communist groups and individuals into a centralized party, and in the duty of unmasking the national reformism of the Indian National Congress, opposing all phases of Gandhists and swarajists.⁸

Clearly, then, the Communists were aiming to build on the same basis as the nationalist movement under Gandhiji, and which had the full support of the masses, and at the same time to oppose the Gandhian ideals and ideas.

6 Ibid., p. 31.

7 Ibid., p. 32.

8 Ibid.

Meanwhile, the Bombay and the Bengal Workers Unions and the peasants' parties had been formed in 1927, under Communist leadership.⁹ The following year witnessed the formation of similar Communist parties in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, and in Calcutta. In other parts of India Communists had to wait until 1933 to be formed into regular parties.

From 1928 to 1935, all the attempts of the Communists at subverting the Indian National Congress proved a colossal failure. Hence a change of tactics was deemed to be necessary, and the well-known "Trojan Horse" tactics came into being.

In August, 1935, Wang Ming, the famous communist leader of China, submitted a significant report at the Seventh Communist International on "The Revolutionary Movements in the Colonial Countries," particularly in India. Some extracts of this report will throw abundant light on the question.

India is a classical colonial country with relatively numerous proletariat and a considerably advanced demarcation of classes. Our comrades in India have suffered for a long time from "left" sectarian errors; they did not participate in all the mass demonstrations organized by the National Congress or organisations affiliated with it.¹⁰

The tremendous growth of anti-war sentiment among the broad masses of the people, the growing consciousness of unity in working-class ranks, the existence of a number of capitalists states that wanted peace, and the growth of the Soviet Union as a world power opened up a perspective of uniting all democratic and peace-loving forces against the war-instigators. This change in the objective situation presented enough arguments to explain the

9 The inspiration came primarily from the British Labor Party.

10 Masani, The Communist Party of India, pp. 56-7.

change in the tactics.

The critical situation in Europe in the pre-war years of 1935 to 1939 helped the Soviet Union to consolidate its activities in India. The U.S.S.R.'s condemnation of aggression in Abyssinia and Spain, its championing the cause of the Asians in their struggle against foreign domination, endeared her to the people of India. The Communists in India denounced the war waged by the Allies on Nazi Germany as an imperialist war. When the British Viceroy in India declared war on behalf of India, without even consulting the Congress or the people, the Communists gained yet another opportunity for exploitation of the masses.

Here it is to be noted that the Communists in India were till 1941 under the guidance of the British Communist Party, which did not appreciate the move on the part of the Indian Communists, who called the war an imperialist war, and the Indian Communists were persuaded to call it the people's war. Soon they changed their tactics again. They started denouncing the Indian National Congress and Gandhiji. This move did not pay them much as the Indian National Congress won the day and took over the Government in 1947.

In 1948 the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Union of Students convoked a meeting of the Communist International agents at Calcutta from February 19th to 26th. It was at this convention that the notorious Zhdanov Thesis was adopted and thereby inaugurated a new epoch in the

history of the Communist Party in India.¹¹ The Zhdanov Thesis declared in unequivocal terms that the time for action had come; and it called for armed insurrections against the various governments, extensive sabotage and guerilla warfare. Hereafter the students will play a big part in the communist activities.¹²

Meanwhile, the Comintern had been replaced by the Cominform. Comrade Zhdanov gave every encouragement for a simultaneous insurrection in all the Asian countries, like Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. In India another Congress was held again at Calcutta from February 28th to March 6th. B. T. Ranadive, elected General Secretary, was empowered (1) to attack the Nehru government, (2) to disrupt the economic life of the people in India by strikes, sabotage and a campaign of terrorism, and (3) to throw bombs and mines in unexpected quarters and to derail trains.

The communists were never idle. They persistently vilified the Congress Government. Propaganda against Pandit Nehru and his cabinet was vigorously carried on. India was caricatured as a public enemy of the world. Indian independence was described as fake. Indian masses were called upon to look up to Moscow for relief and liberation from the imperialism of Nehru

11 Comrade A. Zhdanov is a Russian Communist leader. In September, 1947, in his speech at the Informatory Conference of representatives of a number of Communist Parties held in Poland, roundly attacked the western powers as imperialist war-mongers, charged America especially with aiming at world domination, and posed Russia as the sole leader of the new democratic bloc. This is the Zhdanov Thesis. The Calcutta Conference issued a political thesis which reiterated Zhdanov interpretation of the International situation.

12 The All India Students Federation, which had till then been dominated by nationalist students, was beginning to be over-run by communists.

the United States and Britain. The Communists and their papers fabricated lies and calumnies against the new government of India. A few examples are not out of place. On January 13, 1949, The New Times, a Communist paper in Delhi, depicted the Indian National Congress as a party of Indian capitalists, landlords, and princes. The Pravda of January 30, 1949, derided the Delhi conference of Pandit Nehru in the vilest of terms. On March 4, 1949, The Young Bolshevik, of New Delhi, published an article trying to foment communal disruptions among the masses.

At this time the Chinese Communists extended their fullest support to their comrades in India. Mao Tse-tung, wishing them success, hoped that very soon India would be liberated by the Communist Party. Comrade V. Balabushevik, writing from Moscow, in the "Problem of Economics," sharply observed:

With the exposure of the reactionary and treacherous role of the bourgeois-landlord leadership of the national congress and of the reactionary Gandhism, their influence among the masses is being more and more rapidly dispelled.¹³

The Cominform gave its famous directive to the Indian Communist Party from Bucharest on January 7, 1950. It was asked to follow the victorious example of the Chinese people. A few extracts from this directive are worth quoting:

The victorious experience of the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people teaches that the working class must unite with all classes, parties, groups and organizations willing to fight the imperialists and their hirelings and to form a broad, nation-wide united front headed by the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party, the Party equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism; the Party

¹³ A paper from Moscow carried the article under the caption, "New Stage in the National Liberation Struggle of the People of India." Quoted by Mohan Das, Communist Activity, p. 11.

that has mastered the theory of revolutionary irreconcilability to the enemies of the people.¹⁴

The same directive exhorted the Communist Party of India to strengthen their alliance of the working classes with all peasantry to fight for the introduction of the urgently needed agrarian reform on the Chinese model.

The numerical strength of the Communist Party in 1942 was only 7,000. Now it has risen to about 70,000. The party was illegal from its inception in 1924 until 1943, when the British government lifted the ban on account of the war. This enabled the party to organize and to carry on a program of country-wide agitation. There were differences of opinion between the top-ranking leaders, like B. T. Ranadive and P. C. Joshi, as to the modus operandi. All the same, agitation among the workers in the country at large was carried on. The Royal Indian Navy in Bombay rioted; the Warli tribesmen in Dhanu pillaged and plundered; the textile workers at Amalner and Coimbatore staged violent demonstrations against the mill owners; the railway workers at the Golden Rock, Trichinopoly, had a long and dangerous strike. Strikes, demonstrations and sabotage of all kinds occurred in Kanpur, Madurai, Calcutta, and in the states of Rajesthan, Central India, Kashmir, and in Travancore Cochin.

At a time when the nation needed peace and unity for the consolidation of the newly won freedom and democracy, trouble and discord was being stirred up from one end of the country to the other. As time went on, it was made clear that the government could not permit this state of affairs to con-

14: Ibid., p. 12.

tinues without detriment to the larger economy and political interests of the country. But it refrained from taking any drastic step against the Communist Party as a matter of policy to respect individual liberty. All it did was to meet the local agitations by local measures intended to maintain law and order and keep the economic life of the people going.

It is also possible that one of the reasons the government did not take any decisive action was that the annual convention of the Communists was to take place at Calcutta later in the year, when the Party was expected to define its general attitude towards the government of the country and decide its course of action. The government was possibly aware of the struggle in the central Committee and was waiting to see which of the two policies, "Reformism," or "Revolution," would eventually prevail at the party congress. Actually, there was little doubt about the final issue. For all the time that agitation was in progress, opinion among the people and the rank and file was slowly swinging away from the point of view represented by Mr. P. C. Joshi, the majority leader, toward the policies advocated by Mr. B. T. Ranadive, the minority leader. The result was a complete victory for the group led by Ranadive; and Joshi, who had been the General Secretary for twelve years, failed to get elected to the central committee.

The Communist Party controls the All India Trade Union Congress, the All India Kisan Sabha (farmers' organisation), and All India Students Federation. The Party has emerged as the second strongest group (after the Congress, of course) in Madras, Hyderabad, Travancore Cochin, and West Bengal in the elections to the state legislatures. In the elections to the electoral college in Tripura, a small Chief Commissioners state, the Communists, with the

support of the Independents, secured an absolute majority, gaining 16 out of 30 seats. The party conducts a number of weeklies in all major Indian languages, and four daily papers in the Travancore Cochin state, and one in S. Malabar of the Madras state.

Party Organization - As regards the structure and organization of the Communist Party, any citizen of India who is above eighteen years of age can become a member of the party, provided that he wholeheartedly believes in Communist philosophy and is willing to do field work and agree to carry out the program chalked from time to time. Application for membership has to be endorsed by at least two members of the party, and when a candidate is accepted he has to take an oath of loyalty to the party and agree to pay a monthly contribution to the party funds.

The nucleus around which the whole structure is built is the "cell," consisting of two or three members. Their duty is to spread the faith among the people with whom they live. Such cells may be established in a mill or factory, workers' quarters, in a civic ward, and so on, wherever conditions are propitious.

The hierarchy consists of a series of village, town, district, and provincial congresses with their executive committees. Each committee generally consists of five members with two in reserve and an elected secretary. The Congress may meet once a year while the day-to-day work between any two congresses is carried on by committees. Periodical reports are sent from each body to that which is immediately above it.

The supreme body of the Communist Party in India is the All India Party Congress, which generally meets once a year. The Congress elects the

General Secretary of the Party and also its central committee, which is the executive body of the Congress. The committee makes a report to the annual Congress which, among other things, has the right to change the party's policy or constitution. Each member of the committee is assigned responsibility for some particular aspect of the party work. Within the central committee itself there is the "Politburo," whose secretary is the same as the secretary of the party. The Politburo is the most influential body in the whole organization; for all practical purposes it is the maker of the party's policy.

Aims and Objectives. The basic aim of the party as defined in the preamble to the constitution is:

The organization of the toiling masses in the struggle for the victorious anti-imperialistic and agrarian revolution for complete national independence, for the establishment of a people's democratic state led by the working class, for the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building up of socialism according to the teaching of Marxian Leninism.¹⁵

The aims are described in more concrete terms in the draft program of the Communist Party issued in April, 1954, under the name of the Politburo. The Politburo also decided to "radically reorientate its tactical lines in view of the recent discussions among its members." This program calls for the confiscation of all foreign capital, complete withdrawal from the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a united front and friendship with "peace-loving" countries after having first brought about a "cessation of filtration between

¹⁵ Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 136.

world power blocs and leanings towards the United States of America." It also harps on a program of one hundred per cent "swadeshi."¹⁶

The party does not press for the immediate establishment of Socialism in view of the backwardness of the country in economic development, but only for a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal, anti-imperialistic forces in the country.

On the statement of India's lingua franca and the national political unity, the statement says:

In the name of a united country, the language of one province, namely "Hindi," was declared an obligatory state language for all nationalities and states to the detriment of their own national language. Vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality.¹⁷

On May 13, 1952, the Communist leaders in consultation with the other non-congress members of the Union Parliament arrived at a policy of United Democratic Opposition on the basis of a common program.¹⁸ The minimum program provided by the Communist Party envisaged the abolition of all special powers of the President of the Republic relating to the declaration of an emergency and the promulgation of ordinances; withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth; confiscation and nationalization of all British owned factories, banks, plantations and other interests; abolition of the principle of detention, abolition of restrictions on freedom of speech, press, association, right to strike;

16 "Swadeshi" is a term used to popularize the use of goods made in India.

17 Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 136.

18 Masani, The Communist Party of India, p. 169.

abolition of the compensation clauses in the constitution which prevent the radical agrarian reforms from being carried out; immediate formation of linguistic provinces; adjusting the boundaries of the existing states on the principle of common language; abolition of princely states; and refusal to accept foreign aid or loans with strings attached to them.

The Congress of the Communist Party met at Madurai, in the state of Madras, South India, on the twenty-seventh of December, 1953. The Congress was attended by about three hundred delegates from throughout the country, and the sessions were held behind closed and guarded doors. All credit, therefore, is due to the Democratic Research Service of Bombay for making the proceedings and the resolutions of this mysterious congress available to the public. The Congress concluded its sessions without much complacency. There was division in the party line. Mr. Harry M. Politt, the British representative, denounced the Communist Party of India for its lack of preparation, divided leadership, and lack of understanding and vision in dealing with the most important issues, such as the American menace. "It is the United States of America," he said, "which is the chief aggressor preparing for the third war."¹⁹

A word must be said about the Communist Party's attitude toward the government and its policy. The new central committee, in a statement setting forth the policy of the Party, gave the draft constitution the following sharp criticism:

The Constituent Assembly manned by the same leaders as led the National Government has prepared an authoritarian constitution. The toiling people will not get anything except the right to vote at long intervals. It provides for the arrests without warrants and detention without trial. It authorizes the Provincial

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 216.

Governors to act at their discretion, legislate by ordinance, and rule by proclamation. It makes the reactionary provision for second chamber in the provinces, allows for nomination of members to the second chamber by Governors, thus ensuring that the vested interests and their spokesmen will get a dominant voice in the chamber.

Under the constitution the basic and fundamental rights of the toiling people such as the right to work, right to a living wage, equal pay for equal work, the right to old age, sickness and unemployment aid, do not find a place as fundamental rights constitutionally guaranteed by the state.

But the property and privilege of the vested interests are granted legal and constitutional protection by a clause in the fundamental rights that no property of a person or corporation shall be taken over for public use except by payment of adequate compensation, thus preventing through a constitutional guarantee all plans of nationalization of industries including foreign concerns.

Since August 15th, the so-called National Government has been carrying out the plan of the Indian bourgeoisie to oppose nationalism, suppress workers, intensify their labor and freeze wages in the name of stopping the wage price spiral.

It is ruthlessly suppressing all peasants' movements to the complete satisfaction of the landlords. Even its halting agrarian reform proposals are saddled with compensation to the landlords and with no provision for land to the tillers. They retain landlordism under a different form. The proposed agrarian reform legislation is an attempt to split the peasant movement and to broaden the basis of the present bourgeoisie government.

The provincial governments under the guidance of the central government have passed public safety acts which are freely used against the democratic movements of the workers, peasants, and students.

The so-called national government is crushing the state peoples struggles against the princely order and suppressing agrarian struggles in the native states. It is saving princedom and sidetracking peoples attention from democratic struggles by parading accession as big popular triumph.

The policy pursued by the Nehru Government is one of collaboration with British and American Imperialism. The British and American imperialists are securing strategic positions in India by "agreement" with the "national government" which has agreed to no

discrimination against foreign capital, but encouragement to it, no nationalization, no tariffs which are not agreed to, and joint concerns for the exploitation of the Indian people. This policy logically means no full scale industrialization of India, but the growth of only such industries as suit the interests of American and British capitalists.

The British imperialists are giving open hints about an anti-soviet bloc including their overseas empire. Along with this come reports about an alliance of South-East-Asian countries, embracing India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon in agreement with Britain. There are also reports about military missions from Britain coming to India to keep her defence properly organized.

This shows how the national government representing the Indian bourgeoisie is dragging India into an anti-Soviet and anti-democratic bloc, in a scheme of defense of American and British empires in the East.²⁰

This clear indictment, the speeches made at the congress, the resolutions passed, and finally the statement of policy issued by the new central committee naturally provoked the government to action.

Government in Action Against the Communists. Many who have been wondering whether the government of India and Pandit Nehru are indifferent to the communists' activity in India if not actually favoring them should be adverted to the fact that Prime Minister Nehru and his Congress government are doing their best to crush communism in the country, as the writer will endeavor to demonstrate.

On March 25, 1948, the government of West Bengal declared the Communist Party illegal in that province and almost immediately arrested a number of leading communists. On April 2 of the same year, the government of Bombay rounded up seven communist leaders including Mr. S. A. Dange, the president

²⁰ Democratic Research Service, Communist Conspiracy at Madurai, Bombay, 1954, p. 55.

of the All India Trade Union Congress, on the ground that the activities of these men were dangerous to public safety and tranquillity. The government of Madras, which had for long been harrassed by the communists of Malabar and the Andhra districts, tightened its security measures still further and sent out troops to some of the disturbed areas. Action against Communists extended in fact to almost all states in India. Simultaneous arrests were effected at Cuttack in Orissa, Nagpur and Amraoti in Madhya Pradesh, Jharla and Patna in Behar, and at Simla.

The government struck again in 1949, when the communists were busy with their railway strike, since the government knew that the railway strike agitation represented the culminating point of a series of actions on the part of the communists for the sole purpose of creating chaos and anarchy and to seize political power in the country. The communists, of course, denied the charge and said that it was only a trade dispute, pure and simple, with no ulterior motive.

The government seemed to be rather indulgent in acting quickly. Many leaders of the communists went underground, escaping arrest. Agitation went on without breaks. Almost every day newspapers reported acts of rioting, murder, looting, and arson by persons described as communists, in West Bengal, chiefly in Calcutta, Andhra and Malabar in the South, Ahmednagar in the district of Bombay, and in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh. Trouble also spread to the Indo-Burma border, with Manipur as the focal point of the

situation. The case of Telengana,²¹ lying on either side of the Hyderabad-Madras border, deserves special consideration. Over large stretches of the countryside the government ceased to function; little or no news came through.

On the 15th of August, 1949, the total number of persons in detention in all the jails for communistic and subversive activity was little above 2,500, Madras having the largest batch-- 640; West Bengal, 500; U. P., 230; Punjab, 250; Bombay, 350; Bihar, 190; and Delhi, 5.²²

Detention of prisoners without trial gave rise to yet another wave of agitation. Inside the jail there were frequent clashes between those detained and the jail officials. Outside, the relatives and sympathisers organized many demonstrations demanding the release or trial of those arrested. The general demands of the jailed were three: that their families should be given an allowance, that they should have free access to legal advisers, and that they should have ample supply of specific newspapers and periodicals. The non-compliance with these demands led to hunger strikes at times.

Four State governments banned the Communist Party in Madras, West

21 Telengana: It is a district in the state of Hyderabad, with about 2,000 villages. Even before the Indian independence, the villagers of Telengana were characterized by a spirit of opposition and even violence toward the Zamindaris (Landlords), whom they considered as their oppressors; hence they were trying to emancipate themselves from the Landlords. The Communists found it easy to convert Telengana into a small Communist pocket, where they created a Red state by terrorism and bloodshed.

22 Madras in 1950, West Bengal in 1948, Hyderabad in 1949, and Travancore Cochin in 1947.

Bengal, Hyderabad, and Travancore Cochin state, on the ground that the communists interfered with the administration of law and order, and constituted a danger to public peace. The communique issued on this point by the government of Madras is worth quoting:

For nearly 18 months the provincial government has watched the situation very carefully to see if communists of this province showed any inclination to change their violent tactics and adopt constitutional and peaceful methods. They even released hundreds of them who had been in detention. The government, however, regrets to note that there has been no evidence whatever of any change of attitude on the part of their leaders and members. The Communists, including some of those who had been released have spared no opportunities to create troubles . . . During these last three months the activities of the communists have extended to general attacks on the police and open defiance of order and authority.²³

In other states there was no legal ban as such on the Communist Party, but the provisions of public safety and preventive detention acts were frequently put into action, and the communists had only a sort of semi-legal existence.

On the 5th of February 1950, when the high court of Bombay decided that the communists had a right to state their point of view publicly, the communist history reached a crucial point. The question arose when two papers appealed against an order of the government demanding the deposit of cash security from one paper and forfeiting the security from another paper. The relevant parts of the judgment read as follows:

The masses should be politically educated. They are entitled to know the pros and cons of every political system and ideology. So long as it is legal for a particular party to put its views and principles before the people, it would be improper for the court

23 The Hindu, Madras, October 21, 1949.

to interfere with the right not only of the party, but also of the people.²⁴

By the middle of 1951 other legal verdicts removed the ban on the Communist Party in Madras and West Bengal. In most states party members who had gone underground began slowly and cautiously to disclose themselves, only a few of them having been under arrest and detention on specific charges. There were marked shifts of power within the party, and reorganized units began to make their lawful appearance at state headquarters. Many among the leading party members gave the public to understand that their main interest and plans for future action involved constitutional agitation as their core and center.

Schism in the Party. For a considerable time in the past there were differences of opinion among the leaders of the Communist Party in India. These came to a climax in the congress at Madurai. The two main schools of thought could be conventionally grouped as the "anti-American" and the "anti-British" camps. The first camp is evidently inspired by Moscow. This contended that America is the chief war-monger and violator of international peace and that all other considerations should be subordinated to the task of fighting this main imperialistic nation. This suits the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is directed towards dividing the free nations of the West and driving a wedge between the United States and its Western allies. The other school, while agreeing that the United States is an aggressor in the international field and must be exposed, maintains that British imperialism as the exploiter of the economy of India is the most direct and immediate enemy of the India

²⁴ Ibid., February 6, 1950.

people and that the main task, therefore, is to fight this enemy.²⁵ It must also be noted that Moscow had sent Harry Pollitt to the Madurai Congress with the expressed mandate of bringing about a compromise between the two factions. S. A. Dange, A. K. Gosh, E. M. Namboodiripad and others warmly supported Pollitt's attempt to carry out their anti-American line. And in the actual voting, the anti-British carried 105 against the anti-Americans who had 109.

All the same, the leaders shrewdly covered the differences in their main political resolution: The question of defeating the war plan of American imperialists and defense of India's freedom from the American threat are, therefore, closely linked with the question of India's winning freedom, liquidating Feudalism, and overcoming her backwardness in the shortest period. This means a break with the British Empire, removal of British officers from India's economy, etc.

This does not mean that the Communist Party in India is torn by faction and that a practical line of action has been lost. On the contrary, the "Tactical Line"²⁶ still continues to be a document of authority. The document

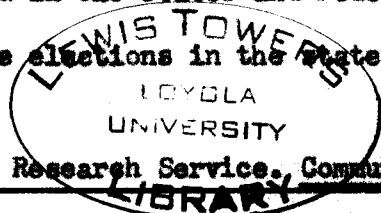
25 There was actually a schism in the Communist Party of India. Messrs. S. A. Dange, A. K. Gosh, E. M. S. Namboodiripad and others supported Pollitt and the anti-American school of thought. With Moscow's inspirations and Pollitt's personal presence and influence, this party thought that the victory would be theirs. But events proved otherwise. Messrs. Rajeshwar Rao and Basava Punniiah led the opposition and impressed the house of the necessity of fighting the British imperialism more than the American.

26 Tactical Line is a document which was presented as concentrated evidence (essence) of the Red wisdom that dissolves doubts and provides inspiration. This was first published by the Communist Party of India in May, 1951, as a policy statement, and it was again confirmed in the All India Party Conference in October, 1951.

has quite a history! After the Calcutta Congress and the insurrections that followed, the Communist Party in India resolved that the Indian revolution would develop along the Chinese pattern and that the Partisan War in the countryside would be the main and perhaps the only weapon to ensure victory of the revolution. The differences of opinion, however, as to the tactics of the revolution continued to persist among the leaders. Hence a commission consisting of Messrs. S. A. Dange, A. K. Gosh, Rajeshwar Rao, and Basava Punniah representing both sides in the party was formed to visit Moscow and to seek guidance and clarification on the issues involved. These gentlemen went "underground" to Moscow and returned early in 1951 with the famous "Tactical Line." The resolutions of the Madurai congress were based on this document.

The proceedings of the Congress at Madurai revealed that the Party was divided, but that does not mean that the communists are going to be idle, nor has its capacity for mischief been impaired. "The Party remains," says the Democratic Research Service, "united by insurrectionary aims and extra territorial loyalties, and because of the powerful international backing it has and of its capacity to persuade the young people who have been misguided into its fold to undergo untold suffering and perpetuate unspeakable deeds, it remains a standing threat to the progress, security and integrity of the country."²⁷

Next to the Congress, the Communist Party and its allies secured the largest number of seats in the elections of 1952. The table on the following page shows how they stand in the states and Federal Assemblies. The party had phenomenal success in the elections in the states of Madras, Hyderabad, and



Travancore Cochin and especially in Travancore Cochin in 1954.

The following table shows the positions of the parties in the House of the People (which is now called Lokasabha) which resulted from the general election.

TABLE III

PARTY POSITIONS IN THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE RESULTING
FROM THE 1951 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Party	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage to Total Valid Voted Polled	Seats Won
Congress	47,528,911	44.85	362
Socialist	11,126,344	10.50	12
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party	6,158,782	5.81	9
Communist Party of India and People's Democratic Front	4,712,009	4.45	23
Jan Sangh	3,236,361	3.05	3
Scheduled Castes Federation	2,501,964	2.30	2
Ram Rajya Parishad	2,094,811	1.98	3
Krishnikar Lok Party	1,489,488	1.40	1
Hindu Mahasabha	1,046,263	.91	4
Forward Bloc (Marxist)	988,272	.90	1
Revolutionary Socialist Party of India	393,984	.37	2
Forward Bloc (Ruiker)	133,936	.13	
Revolutionary Communist Party of India	26,245	.02	
Bolshevik Party	25,792	.02	
Other Parties	7,678,662	7.27	26
Independents	16,845,494	15.90	41
Totals	105,987,318	99.86	489

The following table shows the valid votes polled by each party, the percentage to the total poll, and the number of seats won in the elections to the state assemblies:

TABLE IV
RESULTS OF ELECTIONS FOR THE STATE ASSEMBLIES (1951)

Parties	Polled Valid Votes	Percentage to Total Valid Votes Polled	Seats Won
Congress	43,950,265	42.34	2,247
Socialist	10,072,316	9.70	126
Communist Party of India and Peoples Democratic Front	5,463,338	5.25	147
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party	5,291,777	5.10	77
Jan Sangh	2,917,830	2.81	33
Scheduled Castes Federation	1,808,742	1.74	12
Ram Rajya Parishad	1,261,135	1.21	32
Krishikar Lok Party and Khedut Sangh Lok Paksh, Bombay	1,126,288	1.08	23
Hindu Mahasabha	858,899	0.83	20
Forward Bloc (Marxist)	853,810	0.82	18
Revolutionary Socialist Party of India	249,114	0.24	6
Forward Bloc (Ruikar) Party	181,664	0.18	2
Revolutionary Communist Party of India	33,522	0.03	-
Bolshevik Party	27,731	0.02	-
Other Parties	7,730,131	7.45	212
Independents	21,974,772	21.17	326
Totals	103,800,772	99.97	3,280

NOTE: Elections for three seats in the Assam State Legislative Assembly have not been held.

In Travancore Cochin, Congress secured 43 of 108 seats; the Socialists secured 11; the Independents (of whom 32 were Communists) gained 38; and all other parties, 16.

In Travancore Cochin, the Congress polled 35.3 per cent of the total votes cast in the Assembly election. The Left Front (Communists, Kerala

Socialist Party and Revolutionary Socialist Party) won 24.4 percent of the total votes cast. The Socialists won 14.1 percent of the votes cast.

A second general election took place in Travancore Cochin early in 1954. There are 117 seats, the total number of votes was 4,410,958, and the total number of votes polled was 3,906,415. The Party positions as they are now are shown in Table V.

TABLE V

RESULTS OF SECOND GENERAL ELECTION (1954) IN TRAVANCORE COCHIN

Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Total Votes
Congress	115	45	1,762,992
P.S.P.	38	19	631,622
Communists	36	23	652,613
R.S.P.	12	9	212,354
T.T.N.C.	16	12	237,408
Jan Sangh	1	—	403
Independents	43	9	391,615

CHAPTER IV

SOME CAUSES OF THE GROWTH OF COMMUNISM IN INDIA

The socio-economic conditions in India presented a soil well prepared for the sowing of the seeds of communism. The present writer does not wish to deny that the philosophy of communism has an attraction for the intelligentsia in India and that many of them are taken up by the so called ideals of communism. But these "intellectuals" are evidently few and far between when compared to the masses or the teeming millions of the big continent of India. Hence the writer maintains that the deplorable socio-economic conditions prevailing in India are among the principal causes for the growth of communism in India; consequently, the removal of these causes would also go a long way to remove the threat of communism. It is well to examine these causes rather briefly. The appalling poverty and misery of the masses and the inevitable low standard of life; the growth and density of the population coupled with an extreme food scarcity, both in quantity and quality; the illiteracy and backwardness of the people, growing unemployment and unrest both in the agrarian fields and in industrial areas; the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few and the consequent unjust distribution of wealth among the people; the division of the society into castes and communities; the vexing problems of the Congress government grappling with the difficulties of a new democracy; and the undesirable ambition on the part of some of the so-called leaders who would like to come to power; all these have been efficiently and successfully

exploited by the Communist Party of India--all of these factors are involved in the spread of this movement.

Food, Clothing, Shelter. The most salient facts about the economy of India are the extremely low levels of consumption, income, and savings, which help to perpetuate utter poverty and economic stagnation, and thus deprive the vast and growing population of the country of the barest necessities of a decent existence in keeping with the dignity of the human being. Although international comparisons are not very reliable and the statistics taken in India are scanty and liable to wide margins of error, a rough idea of the economic backwardness of India may be gathered from the following comparative statistics. Colin Clark's estimate of per capita real income of British India for the years 1925-1934 is 200, as against 1400 in the United States and 1000 in the United Kingdom.¹ The differences would be much greater today in view of the fact that vast economic advancements and improvements have been achieved in the United Kingdom and particularly in the United States during the last two decades, while no such progress was made in India.

The rate of savings and investments in India has been low due to the very low level in income in India. Clark estimated it at 13.8 per capita of occupied population during the years 1934-1938 as against 98 in the United Kingdom in 1938. The pattern of consumption expenditure also shows a

1 Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 1041.

2 Ibid.

backward economy. Desai³ has estimated that in 1938-1939, expenditure on food absorbed 60.5 per cent of the total consumption expenditure of India as against only 30.1 in the United Kingdom and 21.8 per cent in the United States. In spite of the predominance of food in the national expenditure of India, the per capita intake of nutritive food has been much lower than in the technically advanced countries.

India's food consists overwhelmingly of cereals, pulse, and vegetables, and very little of protein foods like milk, fruits, and animal foods.⁴ In 1939 cereals and pulses accounted for 36.5 per cent of the total food expenditure of India. The corresponding figure for the United Kingdom in 1938 was 13.7. Meat and fish accounted for 5.7 per cent of the total food expenditure, as against 31.9 per cent in the United Kingdom. This relative neglect of meat and fish in the composition of the Indian diet might be explained by the prevalence of vegetarianism among a great majority of the people, but one should have expected a compensating increased intake of milk and milk products or of such vegetables which contain more food values; but, unfortunately, no such compensation is made. The average per capita daily consumption of milk, including milk products, in the Indian Union, has been estimated at 5.45 ounces as compared to the pre-war consumption of 41 ounces in the United Kingdom and 36 ounces in the United States.⁵

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 100h.

5 Ibid., p. 1017.

The low income is primarily responsible for this large-scale under-feeding and malnutrition which tells upon the population in India. In addition, defective diet habits and unscientific cooking processes have aggravated the evil. The inability of the national income to pay for a balanced diet for the entire population has brought about this undesirable state of things. Unjust and inequitable distribution of wealth and of income has made the situation worse still. It has been estimated that a third of India's national income goes to about 5 per cent of the population, another third to the next 35 per cent, while only the remaining third is shared among the remaining 60 per cent.⁶ It would have certainly the merit of rendering possible a much larger volume of saving than would have been the case if absolute equality prevailed. (Not all these savings, however, go to increase the country's stock of productive capital on account of the general preference for investment in gold and real estate, but this fact serves to depress further the level of consumption of at least 60 per cent of the population.) The most important point to take note of is that if there were a perfectly communistic system of distribution of income in the country, a balanced diet for all the population could not be provided nor paid for. The deficiency of India's food supply according to one estimate is about 17 per cent in terms of calories, 38 per cent in terms of proteins, 64 per cent in terms of fats, and even more in terms of vitamins.⁷ This deficiency is again basically due to the country's per capita productivity, and the low income would

⁶ Ibid., p. 1024.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 1004-5.

not permit overcoming this deficiency by large-scale imports, even if the difficulties of payments would not prove to be insuperable. It is clear, therefore, that the food situation in India and the proportionate standard of life of the people are deplorable.

Another item of the life of the people that deserves consideration is the clothing problem, a matter as important for man as food. In India the major clothing material is cotton. It has been estimated that in 1929 the consumption per capita of cotton piece goods amounted to 16.1 linear yards in India as contrasted with 64 square yards in the United States, 37.7 linear yards in Canada, and 35 square yards in the United Kingdom.⁸ India's per capita consumption of cloth at present has come down to 10 linear yards. In assessing the significance of these figures in comparison with western countries, it has to be noted that in the West cotton forms only a small part of the cloth in general use.

As in the case of food and clothing the standard of living in India is at a low level, so also is it with regard to the acute problem of housing. Of late the problem has become a desperate one, particularly in towns and big cities. According to the census of 1941,⁹ the number of houses in India was 76 millions, of which 10 million were in towns and the remaining 66 million

⁸ Ibid., p. 1125. This refers to cotton and textile industries.

⁹ The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, New Delhi, 1953, p. 234.

in rural areas. Rural houses are mostly built of mud and are of a very primitive type; they lack drinking water, drainage, and a sanitary system. The condition of houses in urban areas is still worse. Squalor, lack of proper ventilation, and overcrowded conditions are the main features of most of the urban houses occupied by the middle and lower classes. The large influx of refugees consequent upon the partition of the country into India and Pakistan has created an alarming situation in the country. One can see thousands of homeless men and women in the open streets, railway depots, and other public places. In industrial areas the position is deplorable and pathetic. In 1938 the average space per person in industrial areas was only 26 square feet in Bombay and 24 square feet in Sholapur.¹⁰

Thus a great majority of the people, who are ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed, cannot possibly afford to spend anything on education, amusements, medical aid, and other amenities of life which the human being requires. Desai's estimates of the group-distribution of consumption expenditure per cent of the total is revealing.¹¹

The level of health is intimately connected with a low standard of food, clothing, and housing. Compared with other countries, India's general standard of health is shockingly depressed. In a 1941 estimate¹² the expecta-

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

¹¹ Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 401.

¹² The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 208.

TABLE VI
GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE, 1938

Article of Consumption	India	United States	United Kingdom
Food	60.5	30.1	21.8
Alcoholic drinks	1.1	6.6	5.1
Tobacco	4.7	4.1	2.7
Clothing	9.8	8.8	8.4
Footwear	.7	1.7	2.0
Housing	6.0	11.5	14.1
Fuel	2.1	4.6	4.1
Household goods	3.0	6.7	6.5
Personal effects	2.1	4.1	3.7
Amusements	.3	1.5	1.8
Reading matter	.6	1.5	1.1
Private transport	1.6	3.0	6.7
Public transport	1.6	3.8	1.9
Communication	.3	.7	1.0
Service	6.6	4.3	19.1

tion of life of men and women is put at 32. and 31.37 years, respectively. Nearly 40 per cent of deaths are said to be among children under ten, and half the deaths in this age group occur by the fifth year of life. About 200,000 die in childbirth annually, and total deaths from

causes associated with child bearing would run to about 4 million. Next, epidemics take a heavy toll, amounting to about 5 per cent of the mortality total. Annual deaths from malaria are estimated at one million and from tuberculosis about half a million.

The main causes of low health are lack of hygienic environment conducive to healthful living, bad water supply, low resistance due to malnutrition, lack of medical care and health education, and inadequacy of medical facilities.

The medical care in relation to the population is very poor. There is scarcely one physician for 6,300 persons in India, while in the United Kingdom there is one physician for every thousand people. Again, 72 per cent of the physicians in India are in the urban areas, and their distribution is very sparse in the rural areas.

TABLE VII¹⁴

PROPORTION OF MEDICAL PERSONNEL TO POPULATION, 1952

Medical Personnel	Number Served by Each Medical Person	
	India	United Kingdom
Doctor	6,300	1,000
Nurse	43,000	300
Health visitor	400,000	4,710
Midwife	60,000	618
Dentist	300,000	2,700
Pharmacist	4,000,000	to 3 doctors

13 Ibid.14 Ibid.

At a rough estimate a million people are suffering from leprosy. There are other major epidemics which take a heavy toll of human lives, such as plague, cholera, and smallpox.¹⁵

That communism thrives on the poverty and misery of human beings is amply clear from the history of communism in Russia, Burma, China, and other countries. Father Nevett sent out a questionnaire to different nations of the public with a view to getting at the root causes of communism in India. He says, "All mention poverty among the masses as one of the causes of the spread of communism and this is a widely held opinion."¹⁶ Of course this writer agrees with Father Nevett that there are other causes, but he, too, would say that poverty is the primary cause of communist strength in India.

Now let us see how the Communist Party of India, under the able guidance of the leaders of the Soviet Union, is trying to exploit this situation in India. The seductive conclusion of the program calls upon the masses with their appealing phrases:

Our party calls upon the toiling millions, the working classes, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle class as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the freedom of the country and the development of prosperous life--to unite into a single

¹⁵ The principal causes of this low state of health, according to the Planning Commission of India, which has made a comprehensive survey, have been enumerated above. The most important, which causes the major epidemics, is the lack of adequate and good water supply. Only 6 per cent of the total number of towns in India have protected water supplies, and these serve only 48.5 per cent of the total urban population. Similarly, only 23 cities out of 48 with a population of 100,000 have a sewage system. Twelve other towns are partially sewered. About 3 per cent of the total population is thus served by a sewage system. Cf. The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 211.

¹⁶ Reverend A. Nevett, India Going Red?, Poona, 1953, p. 23.

democratic front in order to attain complete independence. . . . The people of India led by its working classes and its Communist Party guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, firmly allied with the million-headed peasantry of our land will achieve this program.¹⁷

At this juncture it would be opportune to examine the position held by Reverend A. Nevett, S.J., the learned author of the book India Going Red? Father Nevett is on the staff of Social Order, a monthly dedicated to social research. This publication serves a big purpose for the present Indian social conditions. Father Nevett seems to believe that the removal of the socio-economic disabilities from the Indian population will not chase communism away. To quote him: "Were extreme poverty the principal cause, then there would be no satisfactory explanation for the popularity of Communism among the comparatively well-to-do classes in the West and here in India."¹⁸ Again, he says:

A profound and serious mistake is made by thinking that economic aid alone will be an effective antidote against Communism, that a satisfied appetite means a satisfied mind. Many turn Communists, not for the hopes of material gain, since they have already a sufficiency, but because empty minds which experience a void within them provide as good a breeding ground for Communism as empty stomachs. To provide well-fed, well-housed and well-clothed people is not sufficient, and it is a very significant fact that Communism, which is materialistic, should appeal to the spirit and misguided idealism of the youth. Deep and lasting allegiance can never be won by more rice and other forms of material aid.¹⁹

He also refers to the fact that so many are drawn to Communism by a sense of justice and by the sight of injustice prevailing in the society and by being

17 Cf. Appendix, N. 53.

18 Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 3.

19 Ibid., p. 9.

struck by the immense disparity between the privileges of the rich and the intense sufferings of the poor.

The present writer finds it difficult to agree with Father Nevett on this issue without making distinctions. In the first place, very few among the ordinary people would be capable of diving into Marxian philosophy and becoming imbued with its dialectical maxims. Hence, although Communism has a theoretical appeal for intellectuals--who are few and far between--its most common appeal is by the promise of better living conditions. The history of Communism in other countries proves this statement. In the second place, the statistics which Father Nevett himself has gathered show clearly that "poverty among the masses is one of the causes of the spread of Communism and that this is a widely held opinion."²⁰

Those in the categories of students, teachers, and low-paid government servants, as well as workers, agricultural laborers, and a certain number of middle-class people (such as lawyers, professors, and businessmen) whom Father Nevett finds as intellectuals turning Communists,²¹ become Communists certainly not for intellectual consolation or because Communism offers them intellectual food, except perhaps in a very few cases, but because of the simple fact that they cannot afford to make a decent living with the salary or remuneration they get from the jobs mentioned above. The students as a special case are instigated by the Communists and they do not know what they do.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

²¹ Social Action, Poona, January, 1953, p. 315.

Father Nevett himself seems to admit the position of the present writer in a series of articles he wrote analyzing the Communist policy in India:

Such is the policy of the Communist Party of India. Successes in elections, continued food-shortage, the five years of draught in the south, shortage of electricity, the necessary slowness of the government land reform, the inexperience of young democracy, unemployment, corruption among officials, the bungling of the government contracts, all contributed to the growing strength of the Communist Party.²²

And in concluding the same article, he clearly asserts: "Hence, if the government actually does something substantial for the common man and he is made to feel that more will really be done as soon as more resources are available, he will not be won over to Communism."²³

The Problem of Population. Still another social factor which aggravates and engulfs India's faltering economic position is its overwhelming population. The total population of India according to the latest census, taken by the Government in 1951, is 356.8 million, of which 183.3 million are males and 173.5 million females.²⁴ The census report reveals that during the years 1941 to 1951, the mean decennial growth was 12 per cent. The population density during the year 1951 was 281 persons per square mile. There is noticeable a higher increase of the population of the states with important port towns, except for the interior state of Mysore, where industrialization accounts for the

22 Ibid., p. 318.

23 Ibid.

24 Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 99.

increase in population.

The population of India has been increasing at the rate of about one and one-fourth per cent per year, and, consequently, the additional annual requirements for food needed to feed the growing population is about 450,000 tons. This means that over a period of five years an increase of about two and a half million tons in food grains would be absorbed by the increasing population.

Seventy per cent of the total population depends upon agriculture. The population may be divided into classes according to livelihood as follows:²⁵

TABLE VIII

THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES OF INDIA

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Peasants	47
Tenants	9
Landless laborers.	13
Industrial workers	10
Landlords or renters	1
Commerce	6
Transport workers.	2
Miscellaneous.	12

²⁵ Ibid.

TABLE IX²⁶
GROWTH OF POPULATION

Year of Census	Population (in millions)	Increase (in millions)	Percentage Increase
1951	356.88	42.11	13.4
1941	314.77	39.25	14.3
1931	275.52	27.34	11.0
1921	248.18	.87	.3
1901	235.50		

Based on the available data some predictions have been made for the years from 1951 to 1981. The estimate is based on the assumption that the mean decennial rate of growth will be the same as that of the average of 1921 to 1950 will be the lower limit and that the mean decennial rate of growth will be the same as during the last decade will be the upper limit.

Of the total population, 29.3 per cent are self-supporting, 60.1 per cent are non-earners, and 10.6 per cent are earning dependents. Of a total population of 249,000,000 agriculturists, 71,000,000 are self-supporting, 147,000,000 are non-earning dependents, and 31,000,000 are earning dependents. The foregoing indicates that the average self-supporting person uses his income to support at least two others. Roughly, one among three self-supporting persons also provides, in addition, partial support for one non-earning dependent,

26 Ibid.

since only 29.3 per cent of the total population is self-supporting.²⁷

The density of population per square mile is highest in Delhi, with 3,017; the second place is occupied by Travancore Cochin, with 1,015; and the third by West Bengal, with 806.²⁸

Fully cognizant of the problem of the overwhelming population on the one hand, and the acute shortage of food, clothing, shelter, and other amenities of life on the other, the communists have come forward with solutions designed to attract the teeming millions.

After surveying the agricultural and peasant problems of the increasing population of the country and pathetically describing the miseries attending on them, the Communist Party program asserts that, in order to eliminate these evils and get the country out of cultural backwardness, it is necessary to create conditions of existence for the peasants, which necessarily entails taking land from the landlords and handing it over to the peasants.²⁹

The program then goes on to analyze the vast population of the country and to suggest effective means of organizing the masses. Special stress is given to the question of forming agrarian parties and to the necessity of enrolling practically every person in one party or other.

27 Ibid., p. 1041.

28 Ibid., p. 100.

29 Cf. Appendix, No. 36-46.

Illiteracy and the General Lack of Education. The social setup of the country in the field of education may be assigned as another cause for the speedy communist infiltration of India. While the philosophy of Communism and its essential dialectical materialism may have an appeal to the trained intellect or to the intelligentsia in general, which is always a minority, the party line is active and successful among the illiterate as well. The Red invasion of Burma, China, and other Asian countries are examples that illustrate this case.

On the whole, about 80 per cent of the population of India is illiterate.³⁰ Gandhiji deplored this feature in his paper. "As a nation, we are so backward in education that we cannot hope to fulfill our obligations to the nation in this respect in the given time during this generation."³¹

Of course, there are many educational institutions in India. But they are better adapted to the easy spread of communism than to the growth of a democratic nation like India. The Five Year Plan envisaged by the Government of India realizes well this point when it says:

The present educational system also suffers from a number of defects. To begin with, it is top heavy. Although the provision at the secondary stage is properly proportioned to that at the primary stage, the provision at the University stage is larger than the base structure can possibly support. An undue emphasis on academic training has retarded the development of a practical sense and resourcefulness among students, and the absence of adequate facilities for technical and vocational education results in a much larger number of them going in for general education than is justified by the requirements of the country or their own aptitudes. Then there are

30 Binani and Ramarao, India at a Glance, p. 1391.

31 Warda Harijan, July 31, 1937. This paper was edited by Mahatma Gandhi for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes.

grave disparities between different states in regard to the provision of educational facilities. Similarly, educational facilities are not properly distributed between urban and rural areas, to the advantage of the latter. Another serious defect is the comparative neglect of women's education. The position in regard to teachers is also highly unsatisfactory. A large portion of them are untrained.³²

In some Indian states, such as Travancore Cochin, there is a high percentage of literacy. But because of the serious defect in the system of education referred to in the last paragraph, literacy has helped in part to pave the way for communism. Many of those coming out of the high schools, colleges, and even universities are without employment. The process of improving the method of education is proceeding rather slowly while the communists are making headway among the educated young men who are left without a job. Besides, those educated young men, for the want of proper education in schools and colleges, are imbued with unhealthy ideas about social problems and hence they very easily follow the ideology of the communists.

Hence, it is clear that both the lack of education in India and the high percentage of literacy in a few states of the country are presenting a wonderful opportunity for exploitation on the part of communists.

Unemployment. The communists in India have been taking advantage of the problem of unemployment, which is rampant in all parts of the country. This subject deserves special attention. The government of India has been consistently aware of the critical position to which the country is reduced because of unemployment and is trying to remedy the situation. The government

32 The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 220.

admits the following:

The problem of finding employment for all able bodied persons willing to work is common to all countries, though the causes and the extent of unemployment may differ. . . . To assess the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms is at present not possible. The only published figures available are the registrations and placements at the employment exchanges: but these exchanges are confined to the industrial towns and, even for industrial labor, registration is not compulsory. Hence the figures are inaccurate. . . . The unemployment has increased recently particularly among the unskilled and clerical categories.³³

The increasing population, helpless refugees flowing into the country consequent upon the division of the country into Pakistan and India, and many other socio-economic causes have rendered the problem of unemployment a tremendous issue.

Types of Unemployment. The nature of Indian economy is vastly different from that of the western countries. Consequently, the nature of unemployment is not of the same type as elsewhere. In the highly industrialized countries, unemployment affects the industrial worker predominantly. But in India three main types of unemployment are very common: agricultural, industrial, and professional.

Indian agriculture has witnessed throughout its history an intermittent and progressive depression. Since the Indian population is made up largely of depressed classes, so it has a depressed industry. Because it is in this depressed state, Indian agriculture is not equal to the demands of the vast majority of people who seek their livelihood from the soil, although it is clear that there is no permanent unemployment among the agriculturists. From

³³ Ibid., p. 251.

the evidence submitted before the Punjab unemployment committee in 1938, there is fairly widespread seasonal or casual unemployment, which is also chronic.³⁴ The increase of pressure on the soil by an increasing population which for the most part depends upon the soil, the seasonal nature of agricultural operations, and the lack of supplementary industries are mainly responsible for the low efficiency of Indian agriculture and consequently of agricultural unemployment.

There is a state of enforced idleness in the rural areas of India for three or four months a year. The period of involuntary unemployment varies from region to region. In the well irrigated tracts, the farmer is busy almost all year. In the colonies, farmers have vacations for nine or ten months a year. And in the Barani areas, the farmers may have to remain idle for five to seven months of the year. These farmers, who depend entirely on their agriculture, are literally unemployed during these months of idleness.

Nor has the extension of areas under cultivation kept pace with the increase in the farming population of the country. There has been little improvement in farming techniques. Primitive methods of ploughing, sowing, and reaping are still the order of the day. Indian agriculture has been described by someone as a gamble. It depends on the rain and conditions of the weather, and no scientific method has been applied to overcome this handicap.

The lack of sufficient capital is another big impediment in the way of the farmer. This makes the size of the economic holding very small. And

³⁴ The Government of India, Report on Industry and Agriculture, New Delhi, 1951, p. 341.

even if the produce is improved, inefficient marketing is likely to make the whole business unprofitable.

The cumulative effect of all the conditions referred to above is the reduction of the standard of farming in India to an incredibly low level, which makes it impossible to provide employment for the millions who, by necessity or preference, are wedded to agriculture.

This is bound to have terrible consequences upon the whole economy of the country. Agricultural unemployment means misery and hardship to millions of farmers. When the majority of the population is hit so hard, others cannot escape injury. A depression in agriculture will bring about a depression in industry. Government finance will be affected, which will lead to curtailment of major activities on the part of the government. In other words, agricultural unemployment drastically affects the other fields of economic activity in the country. The loss of purchasing power by about ninety per cent of the people living in the rural areas can be nothing short of a national catastrophe.

As for industrial unemployment, the writer fears that the statistical figures are nowhere near reality.³⁵ For a long time industry in India suffered from a labor shortage. Suitable labor to man the growing industries of India was not forthcoming. Neither wages nor living conditions in the cities were attractive enough to secure an adequate labor supply. The Indian farmer became a

³⁵ In 1952 the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment conducted an inquiry which revealed that only 12 of every 100 unemployed technical workers could find employment while there were only 4 vacancies for every 100 registered for unskilled jobs. The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 253.

millhand by necessity. The industrial workers were fugitives from the rural areas:

to escape from destitution or social disabilities or from penalties of law or from the severe penalties with which the village visits offences against its social and moral code. Few industrial workers would remain in industry if they could secure food and clothing in the village; they are pushed and not pulled to the city.³⁶

The industrialist thus had to cope with great scarcity of labor. The labor was migratory and not permanent. The workers would always look wishfully back at the village and would leave for home at the earliest possible opportunity.

But the era of shortage of work terminated with the end of the last war. Conditions in the industrial centers may not have improved much, but conditions in rural areas became so much worse that the labor market began to be inundated by the desperate flight from the rural areas. Thus, the present condition is that a large number of workers seeking industrial employment cannot possibly find jobs.

The industrial system in India is not in a position to absorb the growing number of workers. There are many reasons for this. The industrial development is immature and inadequate. Its expansion is not commensurate with the vast resources of the country or with the growing population of the country. The location of the industries is rather defective and uneconomic. There is overcrowding in some centers, a condition which inevitably raises the cost of production. If the location of the existing industries had been

³⁶ Professor K. J. Cyriac, Notes on Economics (Unpublished notes on lectures given at Sacred Heart College, Thevara, 1946-1954).

better planned, it would have better improved the economy and would have absorbed a greater number of workers. The cost structure is very rigid and does not respond to changes in the prices of industrial goods. Consequently, industries are periodically overwhelmed by depression, which in turn brings about unemployment. The subsistence economy prevalent in the rural areas prevents the development of an adequate market for industrial products.

All these conditions make the industrial system incapable of sustaining the heavy pressure of increasing numbers, nor can it bring about an even distribution of employment pressures in the country. It cannot provide a stable market of labor. "The Indian industrial system," to quote a learned author, "is dangerously poised between the cycle of a fluid labor market determined by the dynamics of the consumption propensity of a population caught in the rigid frame work of a subsistence economy."³⁷

The communists are seizing the opportunity provided by unemployment among the farmers and industrial workers, their emphasis being on the agrarian reforms among the masses and their move in an industrial revolution. This widespread unemployment among the majority of the people and the consequent misery and poverty is evidently one of the most important causes of the growth of communism in India.

In dealing with the problem of unemployment in India, one cannot overlook the question of the educated unemployed, which constitutes a very serious and menacing factor. The educated unemployed is a dangerous person. He is vociferous, he wields influence, and he nurtures in himself a sense of

37 Ibid.

personal injury if the grievance continues for long and the numbers involved are large, as is the case at least in some of the Indian states. The situation is decidedly explosive and will be a constant threat to the security and the stability of the country. The unemployment of persons belonging to this category is especially bad since they are not "dumb driven cattle," but intelligent people, who will not accept an inevitable lying-down position. The seriousness of this position can be viewed from another angle. Even if the educated were to remain quiescent, the scheme of things responsible for such a state of affairs deserves strong condemnation. It involves the wastage of what is best in the society, a wastage amounting to a national loss.

But, unfortunately, that is exactly the case with the educated population of India. In answering his question, "Who turns Communist?" Father Nevett throws much light on the issue:

Students, teachers, and low-paid government servants, workers, agricultural laborers, a certain number of middle class people, viz., lawyers, professors, business men and other professional agitators. . . . Teachers and clerks, advocates of mediocre capacities, middle class people craving to become leaders of the mob and to acquire positions of importance, factory workers among whom propaganda is active, peasants disgusted with the unprogressive life in the economic atmosphere, increasingly fall victims to communist propaganda; students, men, and more recently girls. . . .38

Those educated people about whom Father Nevett writes are either unemployed or are not receiving a living wage, and that is exactly why they

38 Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 12.

fall victim to communist tactics. The average person requires about R 100 (\$22) a month just to make a difficult living, and the pay he receives is nowhere near this figure.³⁹

The educational system in India is far from being satisfactory because it is divorced from the realities of life with which the educant must grapple. There is a mass production of graduates, for the absorption of which there is no proportionate demand. The present system takes a young man or woman straight through to a master's degree, after which, if the young person is unable to get a job teaching or as a clerk, he or she is unemployed. There are very few alternative openings which hold out the prospect of a living wage, not to speak of a respectable living, for the young candidate who had maintained a high standard of living during his academic career.

This system of education has elicited sharp criticism. It is clear that the educated fell into communist traps not only because the philosophy of the communists makes an appeal to them, but also because their education does not help them make a decent living.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of the educated unemployed. Various provinces appointed committees to examine the problem but, owing to the vagueness of the term "educated" and the inherent difficulties of preparing statistics, most of the available figures may not be very reliable. But the absence of reliable statistics does not indicate the absence of unemployment. The fact is that a very large number of educated persons continue to remain

³⁹ The average incomes of teachers per month are as follows: primary-school teacher, R50 (\$8); high-school teacher, R75 (\$16.50); college professor, R150 (\$22). Government servants of the lower grade receive R60 per month (\$13). These figures are from the author's notes. How could a teacher make a living on such a salary?

idle.

The government of Punjab by means of a committee for unemployment in 1937 estimated the number of educated persons unemployed in the undivided Punjab at 150,000.⁴⁰ Thousands of persons every year passing out of the portals of universities and colleges swell the ranks of the unemployed. The evil is cumulative.

It is the same experience of all employers both public and private that hundreds of applicants turn up for any petty jobs. The Punjab committee referred to above reports that "in a certain district for 25 posts of Patwaris, there were nearly 700 applicants, 90 per cent of them being matriculates and not a few being M.A.'s and double graduates."⁴¹ The chief secretary of the same government stated before the committee: "[A]s many as 300 applications are received annually for approximately 25 clerical vacancies. The majority of these applications are from graduates and undergraduates."⁴² Again, "of the 878 educated unemployed who submitted an application to the committee, 843 have received a purely literary education, 19 were law graduates, mechanical and civil engineers, etc., and 15 were professionally trained persons."⁴³ An advertisement calling for applications for any vacant post will bring in a fabulous number of applications.

355. ⁴⁰ The Government of India, Report on Industry and Agriculture, p.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Concentration of Wealth Among a Few. Another cause that presents itself for the rapid spread of communism in India is the unequal distribution of wealth of the land. While the great majority of the people are poor, a minority is in possession of practically all the wealth of the land. The communists apply their favorite maxim in such cases: "Expropriators shall be expropriated." They consider the few in whose hands wealth is concentrated "expropriators" who should, therefore, be themselves expropriated. In a country where the disparities in wealth and income are reduced, where exploitation is eliminated as far as possible, where security for tenants and workers is best provided for, where equality of status among the various sectors or states of the society is assured, and where ample opportunities for all the individuals of the society are offered--there communists will find it hard to penetrate. The national economy and the social conditions of the United States illustrate this point.

A brief examination of the land policy of India will throw much light on this problem. There are three main systems of land tenure in the country:

- (1) The Ryotwari or peasant proprietary tenure, where the individual owner is responsible for the payment of the land revenue.
- (2) The Zamindari or landlord tenure, where one or more persons jointly own a large estate and are responsible for the payment of the land revenue.
- (3) The Mahalwari or joint village tenure where village communities jointly hold an estate and are jointly and severally responsible for the payment of land revenue.^{lll}

^{lll} The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 88.

In view of the interests the land owners have on the land, they may further be divided into: intermediaries, large owners, small and middle owners, tenants-at-will, and landless workers.

When millions are left without any means of sustenance except the mercy of the few wealthy, starvation and squalor on the part of a vast majority is the order of the day, and it is very easy for the communists to secure a big following around them against the few in whose hands the wealth is concentrated. Before 1947 many individual states in the country were ruled by the Maharajas who were the owners of all the land. They enjoyed abounding wealth and luxury, when millions of their subjects were almost starving. But the present government put an end to the sovereignty of the kings of the states.

How communists react against this apparently unjust situation is seen in their resolutions of the convention at Madurai in December, 1953:

The immediate objective set forth in the draft program of the communist party of India are the complete liquidation of feudalism, the distribution of all land held by feudal owners among the peasants and agricultural workers and achievement of full national independence and freedom. These objectives can be realized only through a revolution through the overthrow of the government of the present Indian state and its replacement by a people's democratic state. For this the communist party shall strive to rouse the entire peasantry and the working class against the feudal exploiters, strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry a broad nationwide united front of all anti-imperialist classes (including the national bourgeoisie) sections, groups, parties and elements willing to fight for democracy and for the freedom and independence of India . . . In order to evolve a correct tactical line it is necessary to . . . take into account all the factors of the Indian situation. India is a vast country with 80 percent of its people dependent upon agriculture. In such a country partisan warfare, as the experience of China has shown, is one of the most powerful weapons in the armory of the revolutionary movement and the weapon will have to be wielded by the communist party in their fight for national liberation.

Then the tactical line goes on to analyze the differences in the

situations in India and China and suggests practical ways to meet the Indian situation. We must demand and extensively popularize that the ceiling of land holdings should be fixed and that the land in excess of that ceiling be taken over and distributed free to the agricultural laborers and the peasant masses. We must demand that those landlords who lease out their lands, even though they may own less than this ceiling, shall have no right of re-assumption.

The communists deny or minimize what the Congress government had been doing to bring about a reform in the land policy: the immediate and most pressing task of the party is to take up the struggle against eviction and for rent reduction. The party and the Kisan (agricultural) movement have to fight all manipulations of the congress government and all provisions in their agrarian legislation that militate against the interests of the peasant masses and which are leading to the eviction of the peasants from their holdings. Nothing could be more pleasing to the poor farmers and the masses and no wonder that some implicitly follow the communist part, which has come out again with positive suggestions in this behalf:

We must demand:

- (1) Zemindari, so far not taken over by the government, must immediately be taken over. Proprietary rights of tenants in the Sir or Khudkhasht lands of these landlords be recognized.
- (2) Compensation to the big zemindars be withheld.
- (3) Legislation fixing up ceilings of landholdings and providing for surplus land being distributed free among agricultural laborers and poor peasants.
- (4) Arrears of rent and revenue be abolished.
- (5) Rents be scaled down to the level of the neighboring ryhotwari rates or by substantial amounts.
- (6) Exorbitant water and other rates be reduced.
- (7) All evictions be immediately stopped.
- (8) Irrigation and forest and grazing facilities be provided.

Then, to set the peasants and the working classes against the government and the landlords, the party has cleverly drawn up a still more aggressive

program. Some of them immediately demand:

- (a) Cultivable wastelands to be assigned to them and to the poor peasants without any charges at least for the first five years. Grants and long-term loans for purchasing cattle, implements, and so on.
- (b) Free house sites and equal right to use of the common lands and sites with others. No evictions from homesteads or from the peasant occupied houses.
- (c) Cancellation of their debts to landlords and money-lenders and provision of cheap credit facilities.

It is interesting to note how insinuating and enticing the call to the Communist Party is. The program concludes in these words:

The principles and the philosophy of Marxism and the leaders of the communist party have led nearly half of humanity socialism to freedom, to real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union. The people of Asia led by the great Chinese people's democracy are now battling to free themselves from imperialism. India is the last dependant semi-colonial country in Asia still left for the enslavers to rob and exploit. But the communist party believes that India too will soon take its place among the great nations of the world as a victorious people's democracy and take the road of peace, prosperity, and happiness.⁴⁵

The Caste System and Communalism. People all over the world are familiar with the time old and traditional caste system in India. Insofar as this social phenomenon helps the Communist Party in India, it deserves special attention here. The caste and communal feelings separate a great majority of the people of India into water-tight compartments with rigid rules which inhibit interdining and marriage between castes. To the Harijans⁴⁶ who

⁴⁵ Democratic Research Service, Conspiracy at Madurai, p. 142.

⁴⁶ "Harijan" is a Sanscrit word used in all the Indian languages and dialects to denote a low caste. These castes are known as "scheduled classes" in political terminology.

form the so-called "untouchables," on account of their caste, there is a vital appeal in the creed of a classless society of the communists.

The caste system is thousands of years old. Although it evolved from the occupations of the people of the Indo-Aryan society, religion has made it very complicated and not easy of eradication. The term originally used to indicate caste seems to have been "Varna," which means color. The differences in color must have been the first dividing line. Even now the broadest line of division between high and low caste (the untouchables) is based on color: the "Savarna" and the "Avarna," i.e., the colorful and the colorless.

There are four main castes: the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. The first three castes belong to the caste people of Savarnas, while the last caste were considered untouchables and slaves. The Brahmins belonged to the deity and were the priests; the Kshatriyas engaged in warfare; the kings came either from the Brahmin caste or from the Kshatriyas; and the Vaisyas were farmers. These three classes were allowed to wear the sacred thread,⁴⁷ which entitled them to the consolations of the religious rites of the temples and those of hindu social life. The Sudras, on the other hand, were the slaves, the untouchables, and the outcastes, who had none of the privileges of society or of the hindu religion. They were to serve the higher castes, and no inter-marriage or dining together were possible for a Sudra with a person of higher caste. In some parts of India, the low castes could not mix or walk through

⁴⁷ The sacred thread is made up of a number of thin threads of cotton and is worn by the superior caste men on their bodies. It is never removed from the body from the day on which it is officially conferred on a male entering the caste with certain prayers.

the public road. The writer has himself seen members of the higher castes order low-caste people to move away from them lest they be polluted by the untouchables.

It is estimated that there are about three thousand castes in India. All have evolved from the original four castes. It must be noted that the caste system has remained almost intact despite the vicissitudes of time and the many foreign conquests to which the country was exposed. The Hindu believes the caste system is an institution founded upon the Vedas and his religion. Its impact on society and the social functions of a Hindu is rigid and lasting. Mahatma Gandhi, who is called the Father of the Indian nation, fought against the caste system throughout his life. He continually fought for the social, political, economic, and religious emancipation of the lower castes, the scheduled classes or Harijans, as they are called.

The caste system has permeated to the core of the life of the people. It manifests itself in a spirit of communalism, which poisons the well springs of the social and political life of the people. The communists take real advantage of this unhappy state of affairs and propose to the millions of Harijans the idea of a classless society to be founded by revolution, in which all would be equal.

Growth of Materialism. Every student of Indian history is aware of the fact that the country has a heritage of deep spirituality. Without going into a study of the quality of this rich heritage, one can safely assert that the average Indian is proud of his religion and the spiritual heritage of his country. It would be difficult to find anyone among the millions of India

who does not belong to a religion, either Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Judaism, etc. Hinduism has remained the religion of the majority of the people. Although during the recent years Hinduism has been on the decline in its percentage, all through the centuries, this religion could not be absorbed by other religions or by the coercive methods of the Mohamadan conquerors of India.

Buddhism⁴⁸ had its origin in India. There was a time, in the ancient past when Buddhism was universally esteemed in India, particularly during the ideal reign of the Emperor Asoka.⁴⁹ All the same Hinduism remained the religion of the people. The Buddhists had to find their adherents in Ceylon or China. This is certainly due to the deep faith of the people in Hinduism and its spirituality.

Gandhiji was a deep adherent of Hinduism. He believed and taught that spirituality alone will solve India's many and varied problems. Nevertheless in recent years, particularly among the younger generation, belief in religion and spirituality has declined rapidly. Nothing could be better adapted to the propagation of communistic doctrines in India. To a hungry man the dogmas and morals of religion will not have as much appeal as food and a decent living. To the millions in India, who are hungry, lacking decent

⁴⁸ Buddhism was founded by the Buddha (meaning wise or enlightened), who was the son of a Hindu prince, in the 6th century B.C. His original Hindu name was Gautama or Siddhartha. When he became enlightened he changed it to the "Buddha".

⁴⁹ Asoka was the emperor of India from 264 to 228 B.C. He was chiefly responsible for the spread of Buddhism in India. Granite pillars bearing the chief tenets of Buddhism are even in some lands of India. They are called Asoka's Pillars.

housing and clothing, the communist programs have a very strong appeal. It is due in part to the decline of spiritual values.

Communist philosophy is essentially materialistic and hence denies God and belief in God. It has only one aim, the material progress and perfection of man and society. It promises everything for the happiness of man in society. Freed from all the bonds of the bourgeoisie and the injustices of the rich landowners, all will be perfectly equal, and all the sufferings and exploitation of the present society will end. When faith in God and religion is dimmed in the hearts of men and the spiritual values do not weigh heavily with them, a philosophy of this type will have an easy access to them. This is unfortunately the case with India at the moment.

According to Marx, "Religion is the sob of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the spirit of conditions utterly unspiritual. It is the opiate of the people. . . . The removal of religion as the illusory of the people means the demand of the people for their real happiness."⁵⁰ But the communist party in India has been all too slow to preach this doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin to the people of India, lest they hurt the spiritual feelings of a nation that has about it a rich heritage of spirituality.

Political Issues. The political situation in India, the nascent

⁵⁰ Introduction, Kritik Der Helgelschen Reshphilosophie. Quoted in Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 227.

democracy, presents ample opportunities for the communists to work their way among the masses. The political consciousness of the masses, especially in those states where the literacy rate is low, is not equal to their responsibilities. To a people that has been governed by others for centuries, the most advanced constitution and prerogative of adult franchise was handed over almost overnight. They had not been trained for assuming the tremendous responsibilities of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Naturally, there are political handicaps in this respect.

The Congress government under the leadership of the dynamic personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been doing a difficult job well during these past seven years. The aims and objectives set forth by them are praiseworthy. The First Five Year Plan is expected to bring a measure of peace and prosperity to the nation as a whole. The first chapter of the same plan which deals with its objectives is worth referring to here.

The central objective of planning in India is to raise the standard of living of the people and to open to them opportunities for a richer and more varied life. . . . Our program must, therefore, be twofold, leading at once to increased productivity and reduction of inequalities. These two sides of the program act and react on one another and it is a matter of delicate judgement to decide to what extent an immediate advance in one direction is compatible with advance in the other. . . . That framework itself has to be moulded so as to secure progressively for all members of the community full employment, education, security against sickness and other disabilities and adequate income.⁵¹

So many mushroom parties have mushroomed on the political scene that

⁵¹ The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 7.

they have not so much helped democracy with a healthy opposition as they have weakened the government and paralyzed its efforts. But, above all, this division gives the communists the opportunity to divide and conquer. The political parties have diversified and sometimes diametrically opposed views and objectives. To give only one example, the "Hindu Mahasabha"⁵² stands for the establishment of a Hindu Raj (kingdom) in Bharat (India) with a form of government in accordance with the Hindu conception of polity and economy. Hindu Maha Sabha intends to develop Bharat as a national home for Hindus, where the sublime quality of Hindu ideology can find a place for self-fulfillment. To steer a course amidst the welter of conflicting ideologies and aspirations in the parliament and the country is not an easy job for the Nehru government. Differences of opinion among the leaders of the Congress caused some of its leading members to leave the Congress and form another party to fight it. All this presents the view of a house divided against itself at a crucial juncture in its history.

While the Congress government has not succeeded in everything it had planned, it might, on the other hand, have made serious blunders. There might have been corruption despite the Prime Minister's proverbial vigilance in this matter; and the government might not have come up to the great expectations of the people. All these shortcomings are common in any country democratically ruled. Opposition parties should not lose sight of the major and national interests;

⁵² Hindu Mahasabha means "the great Hindu Congress."

unfortunately, this is not always the case in India. On top of all these, a strong spirit of communalism and a consequent spirit of suspicion about the government is rampant. The political scene in the country helps the Communist Party to exploit the situation to its advantage.

Naturally enough, the Communist Party is watching the move of the Congress with circumspection and great concern. Communist leaders only know too well the great hold the masses have on the Congress Party through the influence of great personalities like Gandhi and Nehru. The Review Report of the Politburo is revealing:

Far more serious than the direct organisational hold of the congress or of Nehru, however, is the hold of the Gandhian ideology, which is still powerful among the mass of the people. This directly affects the manner in which people's resistance to congress policies is developing. It should be particularly borne in mind that more than three decades of leadership in the national democratic movement has created a tradition of particular forms of struggle which has affected large masses of workers, peasants and middle classes.⁵³

The diversity of opposition toward the government and the spirit of communalism which at times reduces the government to helplessness is accompanied by another political vice. It is the misguided zeal and ambition on the part of some of the disgruntled congressmen and political leaders who play in to the hands of the communists.

While all other parties in the country admitted the supreme ascendancy of the Congress after the elections, the Communist Party alone issued the following astounding report:

The real loss in the influence of the congress is far greater than

⁵³ The Communist Party of India, Resolutions on Party Organization, Delhi, 1954, p. 3.

that indicated by the voting figures. The congress has suffered the biggest political and moral defeat in its entire history. . . . Its mass is cracking up rapidly all over the country.⁵⁴

The Vigorous Communist Propaganda. Skillful and prodigious propaganda is still another factor in the success and speedy growth of communism. In the first place, the Indian communist is a hard and tireless worker. Father Nevett reports:

One of the first things that strike an observer is that the communists work hard, tremendously hard, and in this sense they deserve their success. Their gains are not haphazard windfalls but the result of careful planning and devotion to their cause. In this way they are an example to their opponents. They are experts in the cell techniques and organization. They have made a thorough study of all the burning topics of the day. They are convincingly reasonable, never lose their temper and argue patiently. Their earnestness and sincerity are surpassing. . . . These efforts have met with success among the uneducated and poorly educated who do not and cannot think for themselves. They cannot distinguish between fact and propaganda, fact and opinion, truth and falsehood, and are easily carried away by the rosy future that is painted for them by clever propaganda, either by platform or story or easy literature freely distributed.⁵⁵

One of the efficient means the communist makes use of is progressive literature, particularly short stories. These are printed by the thousands and distributed at low cost. These short stories are written in a very attractive style by competent men. They are obviously obscene and calculated to excite the lower passions of youth in particular. In all cases they exaggerate the poverty and misery of the masses and the wealth and luxury of the bourgeoisie. Most of these books ex natura fall under the Index, but unfortunately they easily fall into the hands of boys and girls who avidly

⁵⁴ Madras The Hindu, July, 1952.

⁵⁵ Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 14.

read them, with the result that communistic ideas easily go into their minds. The writer has come across cases of boys and girls falling easy victims to the communists on account of this pernicious literature.

Another method which the communists very successfully applies to the spread of their doctrine is popular songs which captivate the ears. They take hold of youth who have talents in music and teach them the attractive tunes, which they are asked to go and sing in public places, railway platforms and other places where the people gather. Like the literature these songs influence the masses.

Father Nevett aptly speaks on this topic:

In the evening the people of Bombay could look into the sky where against the dead cold luminaries there is the brightly shining red star of the Soviet pavillion. Indians call it a guiding star, the star of peace and happiness, quoting the Pravda, which describes the International Industrial Fair held at Bombay in 1952. It would be difficult to deny that soviet propaganda is more successful than the American counterblast. Cheap communist literature abounds everywhere and what is more it is sold and read and re-read. At any important function or meeting place, enthusiastic young men are found selling communist books and pamphlets. It is believed that Moscow and more recently Peking, supplies most of the literature free, and that the profits on the sales go to the support of the Indian Reds. Perhaps even the simplicity and poverty of the "people's Publishing Houses", selling plainly got up books as contrasted with the glossy, shiny American Publications available at palatial information services, strikes a note favorable to communism as closer to Indian simplicity.⁵⁶

The movie world of the communist does wonders in the field of propaganda. Commercial greed, it would seem, on the part of Democratic nations prevented them from presenting films that would counteract the effects of the

56 Ibid., p. 16.

Russian movies. The communists select their films to achieve a purpose. Father Nevett notes: "The film 'Fall of Berlin' had a full house for two weeks. There were record box collections. There is no student who has not attended it. Stalin is deified and Americans belittled in this film. This surely is a method."⁵⁷

The writer had occasion to attend some of the soviet planned art exhibitions.⁵⁸ All the exhibits had hidden meanings. They invariably glorified the communist-dominated countries and their achievements. The whole affair is calculated to bring home to the minds of observers the conclusion that once India goes communist all her troubles and misery and poverty will immediately vanish. It is about one such exhibition held in the south, which this writer visited, that Father Nevett writes:

There were all kinds of attractions, dramas, musicals, parties, dances, etc. Thousands visited this exhibition. They had a stall and sold cheaply thousands of pamphlets and books. The stall is now permanently located in front of the . . . college and you can buy any amount (at dead cheap rates) of beautifully illustrated books (on fine art paper) dealing with reform of China, children's movements, cultural advancement, the peace league, etc. These books mercilessly expose the materialism of America and its satellites. No wonder people here think that Americans are warmongers.⁵⁹

The communists conduct study circles and clubs with great success

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁸ The writer has come across young comrades selling commercial literature in Catholic church yards on solemn festivals when people throng in numbers.

⁵⁹ Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 17.

among the youngsters in particular for their propaganda.

An examination of conscience is employed by the Communist Party. Without giving much room for self-complacency, the party calls for an unbiased self-examination and self-criticism. A classic example of this method is furnished by Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad in his analysis of the party's errors in dealing with the agrarian question in the post-war period.

First Stage: From August, 1945 to August, 1946, resolutions of the Central committee. Failure to foresee the coming unrest and discontent among the peasants and consequently the party was unable to organize Kisan (agrarian) sections to keep pace with the demonstrations, the revolt, the preparation for the All-India Railway strike, etc. . . .

Second Stage: From August, 1946 resolutions of the Central committee to March and April, 1947. The party adopted the program of leading and directing the peasants struggle, but with co-ordinated plan and the credit of these struggles goes to local initiative. . . .

Third Stage: March and April, 1947 to December, 1947. The principal character of the mistakes could be put in one word - "left sectarianism."

Fourth Stage: December, 1947 to March, 1950. This period was marked by an extremely sectarian approach to the peasantry in general that led to the virtual dissolution of the All-India Kisan Sabha making it defunct in practice.

Fifth Stage: This is the final stage and stretches from March and April, 1950 to April and May, 1951. This period produced two trends, one of continuing the sectarianism of 1948-50 in new forms. The other that of comrad Joshi and others. . . .⁶⁰

Bringing Russia and the satellite countries into the lime-light in all their speeches is another technique of propaganda. One can hardly find any speech or any written article by a communist which will not recount the

60 Social Action, Poona, November, 1952, p. 261.

achievements of Russia and the other communist countries.

There is no speech of theirs without Russia being mentioned. They show the mammoth achievements in Russia and China and ask the people to follow them. These people [from Bombay state] are very vague about geography, and Russia and China might be round the corner of the way to Madras for all they know. In this vague grasp of foreign events they really believe all the good things said about the "workers' paradise" in Russia or China.⁶¹

With honey on their tongues and poison in their hearts, the communists sugar coat their doctrines. If something is offensive to the hearer, they either avoid the theme or present it in such a way that it will be received. This is the policy they follow with regard to religion and private property, for they know the masses would register an objection if the truth were spoken.

Another effective, and perhaps the most corruptive, means of propaganda used by the communists involves the student body of the country. The All-India Students Federation (AISF) claims 120,000 members, with about 1,000 units in the schools, colleges, and universities. The present writer knows of one university in one of the states of India where the majority of the staff members are professed communists and the students openly defend Communism. Lack of discipline and even violence and gross immorality on the part of students in that particular university go on with impunity. There is hardly a day on which one will not hear about a strike in a college or university in the country. The writer has on several occasions had to deal with the university students who were led by communists and always felt that this was one of the

⁶¹ Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 17.

dangerous means of propaganda used by the communists. It proved almost impossible to bring those students to discipline and orderly behaviour.

CHAPTER V

REMEDIES AGAINST THE GROWTH OF COMMUNISM

An analysis of the socio-economic factors in India that brought about a situation which is easy for the communists to exploit, has been attempted above. It would only be proper that a few suggestions also be offered which would be of help to ward off the possibilities of a Red conquest of India.

The writer reiterates that he believes that a socio-economic reconstruction, based on the fundamental Christian convictions about man and society would in the first place free the majority of the people from the poverty, starvation and all such miseries and, secondly liberate the country from the fear of a Red menace.. By this is meant a social reconstruction as taught by the great Pope Pius XI, who based his thoughts on the principles enunciated in Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum, in his mastery Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno. Any social reformation should not lose sight of the "fundamental values" about which Pius XI speaks:

- (1) The goods which were created by God for all men should flow equitably to all, according to the principles of justice and charity.
- (11) The duty and the corresponding right to work are imposed on, and conceded to, the individual in the first instance by nature and not by society. The duty and the right to organize the labour of the people belong above all to the employers and the workers. Every legitimate and beneficial interference of the state in the field of labour should be such as to safeguard and respect its personal character.

- (iii) The possession of private property by the family, which is the "cell of the society," is conformable to nature.¹

In other words, a social program of reconstruction should take into consideration the origin, destiny, nature and dignity of human beings. All mistakes in the social order and all miseries in the society are easily traceable to the mistaking of these important points. Pope Pius XI in his Divini Redemptoris beautifully and clearly illustrates this idea when he says;²

Man has a spiritual nature and an immortal soul. He is a person marvelously endowed by his creator with gifts of body and mind. He is a true "microcosmos," as the ancients said, a world in miniature, with a value far surpassing than that of the vast inanimate cosmos. God alone is his last end in this life and in the next. . . . In consequence he has been endowed by God with many and varied prerogatives: the right to life, to bodily integrity, to the necessary means of existence etc. . . .

With this fundamental idea in mind, a few precautions to remedy the existing evils in the socio-economic conditions of the vast continent of India are suggested in the following pages.

Man has a fundamental right to the necessary means of life: right to the necessary food, necessary clothing, necessary shelter and all other necessities of life--and again all these in keeping with his dignity as a human being. A better standard of life, therefore means better food, both in its quantity and quality, better clothing, and better shelter in contrast

1 Quadragesimo Anno, May 15, 1931. (N.C.W.C.)

2 Divini Redemptoris, March 19, 1937. (N.C.W.C.)

to the conditions described in Chapter III, where the poor of India manage to live, not evidently, in the majority of cases, like human beings, but reduced almost to the level of lower animals. The right to live in a family is also intimately connected with this idea of a better standard of life, as the complete needs of human beings are catered to only in a family life. Similarly to enable man to attain a better standard of living he should actualize the right to possess property which he could call his own. All the above mentioned natural rights should be protected by the society in which he lives. While there are individual differences among men, which bring about the inevitable distinction between the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, leaders and followers, etc., the fundamental idea of equality of men should always be borne in mind in providing for a better standard of life.

The most important point that comes up for consideration in this connection is that a higher standard of life in India can be achieved, as in other countries too, only by the insistence of payment of a living wage for all the workers, who form the majority of the population, whether they are industrial workers, farmers or employees of any kind, whose present level of living is awfully poor. By a living wage is understood a wage sufficient not merely for the support of the workman himself, but also for his family--a wage which should enable the worker to provide for his decent food, decent clothing, and decent shelter together with the necessary means to provide for his other essential needs, spiritual and cultural. It must also be sufficient to meet the contingency of an unemployment period, when he is without work through no fault of his own, sickness, old age, and death.

Hence the government of India should legislate in unequivocal terms

that a living wage to the worker as defined above should be the first charge on any industry, firm, agricultural farm, or business of any kind. The government should also see that a minimum wage law be enacted as early as possible.

There may arise difficulties on the part of capital as to how to pay a living wage and a minimum wage when it may not be able to do so. The writer takes it for granted that the government would work to achieve an ideal capitalist system, one which "should not impel men to pursue wealth in an unlimited degree and with the utmost intensity, by whatever means are regarded as lawful; and the criteria of lawfulness are economic rather than ethical; individual rather than utilitarian, rather than social and supernatural."³

The government could draw inspiration on this subject from countries like the United States of America, which has an advanced capitalistic system with a democratic labor force which is happy and contented and which, of course, has a very high standard of life not obtainable in any other part of the world.

If intelligently pursued, the First Five Year Plan developed by the government of India would certainly go far to achieving this. "The central objective of planning in India," says the Five Year Plan, "is to raise the standard of living of the people and to open to them opportunities for a richer and

3 Monsignor John A. Ryan, Distributive Justice, New York, 1927, p. 281.

more varied life. . . . Our program, therefore, must be twofold, leading at once to increased productivity and reduction of inequalities.⁴

In order to improve the food situation, the Five Year Plan has envisaged a very ambitious program:

Agriculture and community development is a comprehensive term, including inter alia livestock improvement, forests and soil conservation, co-operation and village panchayat a sort of village self-government. The plan makes a total provision of Rs. 361 million, of which Rs 184 million is for Agriculture, a little over Rs. 100 million for community projects, Rs. 22 million for animal husbandry, and dairying and Rs. 12 million for forests and soil conservation. Detailed programmes for increasing the production of food grains, cotton, jute, sugar cane and oil seeds were formulated initially in 1950-51 in consultation with the state governments. In the case of food grains the target for 1955-56 represents an increase of about 14 per cent over the level of 1949-50.⁵

It is indeed gratifying to learn that the government declared that by the middle of 1954, because of the various programs of agriculture and community projects, the country had become self-sufficient in the matter of food grains and that there is no need to import food grains from other countries, as had been done before.⁶ Credit is due the sponsors of the Five Year Plan.

The majority of the people of India are rice eaters. The increase in production of food grains, especially rice, will save millions from starvation.

⁴ Government of India, First Five Year Plan, p. 11.

⁵ Ibid., Chapter XI.

⁶ The Hindu, Madras, July 5, 1953.

But this is not enough. Rice does not contain all the necessary food values, and hence other kinds of food which contains richer food values have to be supplied.

The next point with regard to the raising of the standard of life is the provision for adequate supply of clothing. Although there is great scarcity of clothing at present, it is hoped that the Five Year Plan's efforts to produce more cotton will be crowned with success.

As was indicated in Chapter III, the housing problem is a most acute one. A higher standard of living will require decent houses to live in. The Housing Commission appointed by the Planning Commission realizes that for years to come the major share of the building program will have to be undertaken by private enterprise. This should be encouraged through (1) the provision of suitable building sites, (2) assistance in obtaining loans, (3) a more equitable distribution of building materials, and (4) exemption of newly built houses from the operation of rent laws.

An intensive effort to clear the slums should be started immediately. This should be considered an essential part of providing better standards of living. Those living in the slums should be removed to houses with better conveniences and comfort and above all with better sanitation and privacy. The villages in India have a set standard of building houses. The government should intervene and build for them model houses with enough ventilation and other requisites for healthful living.

The Five Year Plan has worthwhile ideas about providing better houses

in towns and villages.⁷ These ideas have to be realized and immediate steps should be taken in that direction. On this matter the central government and the state governments and private agencies above all should not lose time in implementing the plans.

Private industries and firms should be encouraged to build houses for their employees at a very low rate of rent to begin with, and with facilities to make these houses the property of the employees by some sort of long term arrangement. There are many farmers living very miserable lives in respect to poor housing. The landlord should, in justice, help his workers to build their houses or build houses for them on a basis similar to the foregoing plan.

Industrial development and a firm industrial policy will bring real progress to a nation as is seen from the history of other countries. On the other hand, neglect of industry or pursuing a misguided policy may bring about the ruin of a country. Industry is a ground which the Communists are trying to cover in India. Hence it is absolutely necessary to industrialize the country on sound principles. The backwardness of industrial development of the country should be a matter of concern for the government and the people, and everything should be done to speed up industrialization.

The new industrial policy of the government of India was announced on April 6, 1948, in the Parliament by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, then

7 Government of India, First Five Year Plan, Chapter XXV.

minister for industry and supply.⁸ The main points in this policy were:

(1) The government of India consider that laborer's share of profits should be on a sliding scale, normally varying with production. The government proposes to establish machinery to advise on fair wages, fair return for capital and better conditions of labor.

(2) Industries have been roughly divided into four categories:

(a) Exclusive government monopoly: the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy and the ownership and management of railway transport.

(b) Government controlled sphere: the state may seek the cooperation of private enterprise, e.g., coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, ship-building, manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, but not radio-receiving sets and mineral oils. The existing undertakings in these fields will be allowed to develop for a period of ten years. Management of state enterprises will be generally through public co-operatives. In pursuance of this policy the government proposes to undertake five big projects costing Rs. 200-300 million, viz., a machine tool factory, a cable making factory, a radio apparatus and radar making factory, a steel factory and one connected with industrial machine manufacturing industry. By the end of 1951 the government had invested Rs. 27.45 millions, including Rs 16.50 millions in the Sindri fertilizer factory and Rs. 7.87 millions in the Chittaranjan locomotive works.

⁸ The Hindu, Madras, April 9, 1948.

(c) Subject to state regulation and control: Salt, automobiles and tractors, prime movers, electric engineering, machine tools, heavy chemicals and fertilizers, and pharmaceuticals, rubber manufactures, power and industrial alcohol, cotton and wool textiles, cement, sugar, pepper, newsprint, air and sea transport, minerals, and industries relating to defense.

(d) Sphere of private enterprise subject to the general control of the state: industries in this category were not mentioned in the policy statement.

The government seems to steer a wise middle course. The new policy avoids both the extreme theories of the Rightists, who advocate that the state should never interfere with private enterprise, and of the Leftists, who believe in 100 per cent collectivism and regard private enterprise as immoral. The government seeks to establish in India a moderately controlled or mixed economy.

With the publication of the national planning commission's report, the fears regarding nationalization of industries were allayed. According to the First Five Year Plan, nationalization of existing productive capacity is viewed as neither necessary nor desirable.⁹ Resources available to the public sector should be utilized for investment in new units rather than for acquisition of existing ones. The field of state enterprise should be as laid down in the industrial policy resolution of April, 1948. Important ministerial pronouncements have also given similar assurances. At the time of addressing the

⁹ The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, Chapter XXIX.

Advisory Council of Industries, on 24th January, 1949, Pandit Nehru said:

Our policy is to direct our energies in increasing productivity and not seizing hold of existing institutions and things which are functioning -- any kind of full nationalisation can not take place effectively for a fair number of years except for those noted industries which we have stated. Again during the course of the same year the Prime Minister declared, What we said was that we would not nationalise certain industries for ten years. It was a negative attitude and not a positive one with regard to key industries. . . . we are committed not to nationalise them for ten years. Frankly speaking we have not the resources to do it.¹⁰

Similarly at an election meeting at Bombay on the 1st of January, 1952, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh deprecated the idea of outright nationalisation and advocated the policy of utilizing the capital available with the government for starting new industries instead of disbursing it out as a compensation for owning the existing industries run on a private enterprise basis.¹¹ The Finance Minister said that outright nationalisation involved various difficulties. The present personnel in the government machinery had only administrative experience, while the development of industries needed much more than mere administrative experience. The experience of already state-run industries showed that the present machinery could not avoid the obvious mistakes which invited great criticism from the public. The field of nationalization could be extended only in accordance with the increase in money and other resources of the government. The Minister of Finance, therefore, defined the Five Year Plan as a pattern of mixed economy with needed restrictions on the latter.

¹⁰ Times of India, Bombay, January 25, 1948.

¹¹ The Hindu, Madras, January 2, 1952.

The Plan wisely defines the priorities for the industrial development within the period of the Plan. The following is the general order of priorities in the industrial field:¹²

- (1) Fuller utilization of existing capacity in producer-goods industries like jute and plywood, and consumer-goods industries like cotton textiles, sugar, soap, Vanaspati, paints, and varnishes.
- (2) Expansion of capacity in producer- and capital-goods industries like iron and steel, aluminum, cement, fertilizers, heavy chemicals, machine tools, and so on.
- (3) Completion of industrial units on which a part of the capital expenditure has already been incurred.
- (4) Establishment of new plans which would lend strength to the industrial structure by rectifying, as far as resources permit, the existing lacunae and drawbacks such as the manufacture of sulphur from gypsum, chemical pulp for rayon, and so on.

The allotting of industries to public and private sectors at this stage particularly is laudable. The plan assesses progress in achieving the targets:

In the course of the past 18 months, there has been a great increase in industrial production as a result of (a) the coming into operation of new industrial units. . . . (b) the beneficial effects of replacement of plants and machinery carried out by some of the industrial establishments in the

12 The Government of India, First Five Year Plan, Chapter XXIX.

post-war period. . . . (c) fuller utilisation of the installed capacity of some industries owing to the increased availability of raw materials. . . . (d) improvements in the application of improved policies and their administration. . . . (e) and improvement in the transport facilities provided by the railways.¹³

A vigorous industrialization should help to unearth the rich minerals buried beneath the grounds, like coal, iron and magnese of Bihar, monosite sands of Travancore Cochin, and other materials like titanium, bauxite, mica, copper, tin, lead, zinc, nickel, petroleum and a lot of others found all over the country.

At this juncture a word is to be said about the promotion of village industries. With the advent of this era of industrialization, the villages of India which used to be self-sufficient units with their own spinners and weavers, potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and washermen have become almost idle. The time-old village industries and village crafts, reflected something of the personality of the architect who made them are slowly declining if not dying out altogether. Gandhiji, realizing the importance of village industries, initiated a movement for their revival. Village industries are of several kinds. The "Khadi" of Mahatma fame, the handspun and hand-woven cloth brings bread to many of the poor. It has been estimated that the handloom industry gives employment for about 10,000,000 people. The villagers make many objects of beauty and art, out of wood, metal, ivory, marble, and clay. Incidentally, some of the pieces of art done in ivory in the Travancore Cochin state are really marvelous, evoking unstinted praise from all those

who have had occasion to see them. All these industries could be improved by a supply of better and scientific tools with a co-operative organization and by assistance from the government.

A strong beginning under the distinguished leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been made. The remarkable degree of progress achieved in so short a time, in big-scale and small industries, as well as in village industries, has given the lie to the calumnies of the Communists to the effect that nothing has been done to industrialize the country in order to relieve the poverty and misery of the masses. Of course much more remains to be done.

Improved and Scientific Method of Agriculture. With vast tracts of cultivable and fertile lands available and the people of India predominantly agricultural in habits, the improvement of agriculture is sure to better the social and economic conditions of the people. Realizing this predominant factor in the Indian socio-economic life, the Communist tactics have been directed to the all-important agrarian movement.

In 1954, the government of India triumphantly told the people of India and the whole world how successful plans in the agricultural field, particularly in growing more food grain, had been.¹⁴ Previously, the government of India imported about three million tons of food grains, such as rice and wheat, every year. By the middle of 1954, thanks to the irrigation plans of the government, the food grains produced in India have been found sufficient to feed the population. The government is confident

¹⁴ The Hindu, Madras, July 5, 1954.

that this is but an initial step toward consistently maintaining a local food supply, enabling the government to utilize the amount set apart for the importing of food grains for other useful purposes. There is still, however, plenty of room for improvement.

In the first place, there should be available land for cultivation before a scheme of improvement of agriculture can be thought of. This naturally brings in the question of land reform. Each farmer should be given a few acres of land, with full proprietary rights, which he could cultivate as his own. It is again a matter of gratification that the government has been tackling this rather vexed problem very efficiently. It should be emphasized that, before all other measures in this behalf are taken, the government should distribute among the farmers who are interested in cultivating it, the vast tracts of land lying idle in the forest areas, the extensive water tracts, and those so-called reserve lands belonging to the government. This distribution should be free. The lands belonging to the Zaminadaris and the landlords could then be made available for cultivation, without, however, doing violence or injustice to the present owners' claims. In spite of Communist criticism, the government has been moving very satisfactorily in this regard. The "Bhoodan Yagna"¹⁵-- the voluntary gift of land as sacrifice, a movement set on foot lately by a distinguished Hindu gentleman, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, which

15 Masani, The Communist Party of India, p. 236.

is gaining ground among the people all over the country--would make vast areas of land available for agriculture.

Then, there is the co-operative farming about which the First Five Year Plan speaks:

In most parts of the country an increase in the unit of cultivation is necessary. Without undermining the sense of proprietorship and the consequent incentive to production, co-operative farms can have all the advantages that a larger unit possesses. The planning commission has, therefore, suggested that if in a village people holding at least half the total area under cultivation desire to establish a co-operative farm, legislation should enable them to proceed with the formation of a co-operative farming society for the entire village. The state should also encourage in the establishment of such farms.¹⁶

The recommendations of the Five Year Plan for the welfare of agricultural workers deserve further mention:

(1) Agricultural workers seldom own the sites on which their houses stand. This makes their position extremely vulnerable. Landless workers enjoying temporary rights to house sites should be granted occupancy rights. Where house sites belong to a village, the village Panchayats should be persuaded to grant the sites free of charge. Persuasion if possible, and legislation if necessary, should be resorted to in the case of sites belonging to individuals. Compensation, if any, should be paid by the village Panchayats. In some places the existing village site is so congested that a new site has to be provided for further extension. The landless, and particularly the Harijans, should be fully represented in the allotment of sites in such extensions, and an effort should be made, wherever possible, to provide small allotments for kitchen gardens.

(2) The movement led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave for securing gifts of land for the landless has considerable moral value and should be supported by providing means of cultivation and other assistance to the landless labourers selected for allotment of gift land.

16 Government of India, First Five Year Plan, Chapter XII.

(3) With the assistance of the co-operative staff, the agricultural, forest and public works department of the state government should try to organize co-operative villages of labourers which should be encouraged to and enabled to take up construction work. The success of forest labourers societies in Bombay and similar organisations elsewhere, suggests that, given encouragement, the formation of labor co-operatives could contribute to the relief of rural unemployment.

(4) Blocks of newly reclaimed land as well as culturable waste land should be set apart for co-operatives of landless agricultural workers and of those with small economic holdings. Even though the land thus made available would be limited, such schemes would be a source of hope and encouragement to the families of agricultural workers.

(5) Being without land or other assets, agricultural workers have no security to offer. As a rule, therefore, they are ineligible for financial assistance from the government. While loans for individuals may present administrative difficulties, it would be possible for state governments to give financial assistance to co-operatives of landless workers to enable them to build houses, purchase bullocks and implements and to start ancillary industries. Special assistance by way of educational stipends particularly for vocational and technical training should also be afforded, as indeed is being done in most states.¹⁷

In the second place, enough capital must be provided for the farmer to enable him to carry on with his agriculture on an improved and scientific scale, to buy the necessary seeds, to equip him with the required implements and tools and, above all, the required amount of fertilizer. Private agencies, whose temptations for the exploitation of the poor farmer are being curbed by appropriate laws by the government, co-operative institutions, state-aided banks, state and federal governments should join efforts to finance the farmers. In this behalf the First Five Year Plan has worked out a loaning

17 Ibid., Chapter XIII.

system which seems to be very commendable.¹⁸

The cultivator requires (a) short-term, (b) medium-term, and (c) long-term loans. Short-term loans, repayable after the harvest, are needed for seeds, manures and fertilizers or to meet the cost of labor. Medium-term loans are taken for the sinking of wells and the purchase of bullocks, pumping plants and other improved implements. These are recoverable in installments over a period of about three to five years. Loans repayable between ten to twenty years are classified as long-term loans. These are used to repay old debts, purchase heavy machinery and increase the size of holdings.

In the third place, the system of agriculture of the country should be modernised and should be carried out on a scientific basis and, to the extent possible, mechanized at an early date. Many points come up for discussion on this important matter. Instead of depending upon the monsoon rains for irrigation purposes, major and minor irrigation projects should be developed over and above those already undertaken. The water giants of India have to be tamed to the full advantage of the people, particularly of the farmers. Improved qualities of seeds should be provided by the government. The multiplication and distribution of pure seeds should be centralized as far as possible, so that maximum seed reaches every village or group of farmers. This method would improve the agriculture of the country as a whole. Scientific manures and fertilizers have to be supplied by the government as well. After making a thorough soil survey of the land, deficiency of the soil will

18 Ibid., Chapter XIV.

have to be corrected by means of scientific manures and fertilizers. The use of improved agricultural implements and machinery helps the agriculture of the country a great deal. The liberal use of tractors, diesel engines, and electric motors should be promoted. As to the methods of cultivation by scientific methods, the country is still in a primitive stage. Tractors are particularly suitable for the reclamation of waste lands; the cultivation of sparsely populated areas, where there would be a shortage of labor; and for drainage and soil conservation operations, such as contour bunding, terracing, and ridging. The services of a company like International Harvester could be employed in this connection for the securing and application of scientific methods of agriculture.

To cope with the growing need of improving methods in agriculture, agricultural education and intensive training should also be provided for. Likewise, scientific research on agricultural subjects should be encouraged.

A word also should be said about "Community Projects" to help the furtherance of agriculture. "Community development is an attempt to bring about a gradual transformation of the social and economic life of the villages by enlisting the co-operation of the people themselves in their own betterment."¹⁹ This is to be achieved by practicing more scientific agriculture, improving sanitation, developing communications and cottage industries, and by approaching the villager not through a multiplicity of officials but through an agent known as the "Village Worker."

19 Ibid., Chapter XV.

There are at present fifty-five community projects and fifty-five more development blocks have been recently added. A project area is divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about one hundred villages with a population of 60,000 to 70,000. The development block is again subdivided into groups of about five villages, each group being the field of operations of a village level worker.²⁰

The main field of activity of the Community Project is agriculture. The agricultural program includes reclamation of wastelands, minor irrigation works and use of better seeds, fertilizers and the improvement of livestock. Steps will be taken for securing protected water supply and for the prevention of epidemic diseases. Another important aim of the program is the establishment of at least one multi-purpose co-operative society in every village or group of villages.

The project headquarters will have the following special features:

(1) teachers' training college, (2) technical training center, (3) arbitration and law courts, (4) tractor and supply station, (5) transport workshop, (6) engineering workshop, (7) secondary hospital, (8) training center for village level workers and (9) a dairy, a poultry, and agricultural experimental station with facilities for soil research.

The estimated expenditure of the basic type of rural community project is about Rs 65,000 over a period of three years and that of a composite type of project (with an urban unit attached) is Rs 1,100,000. All

20 The Hindu. Series of articles, editorials, 1953.

the fifty-five projects will cost the government Rs. 35-38 million at the end of three years. Under the technical co-operation agreement, the United States Government will contribute Rs 4 million. No doubt fifty-five per cent of the fund supplied to the state governments for the execution of these projects will be treated as loans. Loans for self-financing schemes will be given by the central government. After the third year the expenses will be borne by the state governments.

Closely allied to the community projects is the National Extension Service.²¹ The community project is a method, while the extension service is the agency through which rural areas will be improved. In both programs agricultural expansion is the common factor. The central government will assist the state governments in establishing extension services so as to bring 120,000 villages under the project within a period of ten years. The service was inaugurated in October, 1953. The planning commission has allotted 237 development blocks in different states for the year 1953-54. The extension has provisions for medical- and public-health programs, for education schemes of various types, for making national highways, and so forth.

From what has been said so far about this important subject, it is clear that the government is doing its utmost and has succeeded in improving agriculture, thereby, raising the economic status of the nation. The Communists, in spite of all their efforts to cover actual figures and facts, are at a loss before the following facts: the postwar deficits have been

²¹ The Hindu, Madras, and The Times of India, Bombay, October 25, 1953.

slowly reduced, the five year target for food grains and for cotton has been reached already, transport is becoming more and more efficient from day to day, and the roads and railways are rapidly improving. The pace of development will largely depend upon the co-operation in full measure of the public.

Removal of Inequalities. One of the salient features of the Indian social structure that would arrest the attention of any student of social science, is the gross inequalities existing in the society and the distinction between classes and castes and creeds. It is no wonder the gospel of a classless society preached by the Communists is bound to have an appeal for a people who have become depressed and intimidated by classes and castes and creeds. Hence one of the remedies to be immediately applied to the social structure of the society in India against a Communistic menace is the removal of the inequalities which are mainly economic and social.

As for the economic inequalities, the subject has been elaborated upon in a former section. What should be insisted upon is not so much a levelling down of the few who are highly placed or rich, as the levelling up of the lower classes. The wealthy may remain wealthy and they do contribute to the wealth of the nation. By legitimate taxation and by other laudable ways their wealth could be tapped for the process of levelling upward. Accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, while the majority are steeped in misery and poverty, is an economic condition that should not be tolerated any more. Without infringing upon the just rights of private ownership of the individuals, the government and the public should wholeheartedly co-operate to bring about a more equitable distribution of land and wealth. The landless should have the necessary land to cultivate. This should not mean

that all the land should be equally distributed among the people (as the Communists require) while the omnipotent state denies the people actual title to the land. The existing inequalities in housing and clothing of people both in the rural and urban areas, are really revolting. These inequalities should be eliminated along the lines suggested in a previous section.

Intelligent direction is needed to reduce these ugly phenomena of social and economic inequalities, at least to a tolerable degree. A visitor to the United States will be much edified by the democratic spirit and the spirit of equality in all spheres of life. A casual observer may not easily make out who is poor and who is rich in the United States. Almost every one in general, has the same convenient dwellings, the same standard of food, and the same kind of clothing. This has been the result of patient effort and sharing. Naturally, a Communist program has no appeal for an average American.

The social inequalities have a deeper root in India than the economic. They are founded upon castes and creeds. The Constitution of the Indian Republic is very clear on this point of removing all social inequalities and disabilities.²² But a time-old malady of this type affecting the structure of the human society will certainly take time to cure.

The caste system in India, as was mentioned before, has produced millions--about one-fifth of the whole population of India--of outcastes, or "Harijans" or "scheduled classes" or "untouchables," as they are variously

²² The Constitution of the Republic of India, Fundamental Rights, Chapter I, New Delhi, 1951.

called. The spirit of inequality has been carried so far as to foster the idea of untouchability, as if the poor human beings were a kind of social lepers. This is a perpetual stain on the Indian nation and hence it has to be obliterated as early as possible. "It is the sign of healthy polity," says the great Cardinal John Henry Newman," that the misery of the least of its members is reckoned as an injury to the whole community."²³

Mahatma Gandhi is the accredited champion of the Harijans. He worked for their uplift all through his life. Every Indian should follow Gandhiji's lead in this matter. Every citizen of India should wholeheartedly co-operate with the government to free the country of this spirit of inequality among men and in society.

Social Work among the Backward Classes. To prevent the unfortunate millions of India from falling an easy prey to the Communists, an efficient and organized program of social work among the Harijans is needed, although admittedly difficult. Gandhiji in all his life and work was very keen about this subject. His method is well adapted to the Indian social structure.

Even in ancient times India possessed varied kinds of social institutions to aid the poor. But the period under foreign rule witnessed a gradual destruction of the older social structure in India. In recent years a number of institutions and reforms were introduced by philanthropic Hindus like the "Brahma Samaj," the Prarthana Sama," the "Ramakrishna Mission" and the "Arya Samaj." Though these organisations are of the nature

23 Quoted by M. R. Masani, The Communist Party of India, p. 145.

of religious orders, they take it as part of their faith to serve the needy and the suffering. The Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission sponsor social reforms, establish orphanages, widows' homes, free dispensaries, and relief centers.

Christian missionaries have been rendering vital service in the field of social work. Hospitals, dispensaries, foundling homes, orphanages, leper asylums, and institutions for the maimed and handicapped are seen all over the country as a result of their disinterested service. But nowhere do these meet all the actual needs of the country.

From 1920 on, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, constructive social welfare programs began to be organized. The Harijan Seva Sangh (Association for the Service of the Scheduled Castes), All India Village Industries Association, Charkha Sangh (Association for the Spinning Industry), the Hindustani Talimi Sangh (Association for the Promotion of the Hindu Language), the Goseva Sangh (Association for Cow Worship), and the Kasturba (Gandhi's wife) Gandhi National Memorial Trust are a few examples of these associations.

Late in 1930 professional social work had its first recognition with the starting of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. All universities and colleges in India should offer courses in sociology and social work as soon as practicable. Students should be given ample opportunities to exercise themselves in applied social work. The professional social work referred to above covers the following fields: community welfare services; family, child, and youth welfare services; public welfare administration; social-security services; services for the maladjusted and handicapped; social defense and correctional administration; emergency relief and rehabilitation services; social legislation and social action; and social research and training in social work.

The attitude of the government of India towards state responsibility for social welfare is reflected in Part IV of the Constitution which lays down "The Directive Principles of State Policy" as follows: "The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social economic and political, shall form all the institutions of the national life."²⁴

The post-independence years have witnessed an unprecedented increase in social legislation. Among the laws framed by the government have been the Industrial Dispute Act of 1947; the revised Factories Act; the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Scheme Act; the Minimum Wages Act; The Employee's State Insurance Act of 1948; The Plantation Labor Act of 1951; The Mines Act and the Provident Fund Act, 1952. The Hindu Code Bill seeks to deal with the questions of marriage, divorce, inheritance by women, etc.

The All India Adult Education Association is the central coordinating authority in this field. The Social Welfare section of the Planning Commission and the Central Social Welfare Board proposed are expected to meet the need for research and furnish information. A provision of Rs. 500,0000. has been made in the plan for research and investigations relating to social, economic and administrative problems of national development among the voluntary organizations. The Indian Conference of Social Work seeks to fulfill this need.²⁵

²⁴ Constitution of the Republic of India, Part IV. The Directive Principles of State Policy.

²⁵ The average annual expenditure visualized in the First Five Year Plan under social education is Rs. 3.02 million.

The voluntary social-work groups in India fall largely under the following heads: state administrators and officials, trained and professional workers, missionaries, Gandhian social workers, and voluntary social workers belonging to various private agencies.

To counteract the social work undertaken by the government and philanthropic agencies, the Communists have begun, of late, to adopt the methods of the missionaries. They have established relief centers, relief kitchens, and milk canteens. They also have medical squads to fight epidemics, to distribute medicine, and to teach the poor the elements of cleanliness and hygiene. What the Catholic nuns have been doing for years is done now by Communist-trained Hindu girls, who, setting aside caste prejudices, work among the poor and the miserable. Indeed, the "children of darkness are wiser." Propaganda and education, of course, are not neglected. There are exhibitions showing Communistic advances and progress both in Russia and in other countries. Dramas, songs, dances, and variety entertainments are organized to attract attention. For the Kisans (farmers) there are mass rallies, mobilization, and maiden meetings. For children there are songs, guerilla games, and balasamajs (children's organizations).

Hence, the necessity to carry on with the programs of social reconstruction, social welfare, and social work all over the country on the lines suggested above, is evident.

Overhauling the Existing System of Education and Supplanting It With a Suitable System. It has already been pointed out in an earlier chapter of this paper that the educational system of India has been to a great extent responsible for the rise of Communistic tendencies in India. It has been agreed on all

grounds that the present system of education is faulty and that better machinery has to be set up forthwith. The British who founded the system devised the same to meet their administrative needs and it has outlived its purpose.

Gandhiji had visualised a new system of education adapted to the requirements of independent India. He called it the "Nai Talim." (Craft education). He felt that every man should be educated to take pride in work. Hence while receiving education the child must learn and at the same time earn to make his bread. "Earn while you learn," in other words was the underlying idea. It centers around crafts, such as weaving, spinning, carpentry, leather work, cardboard work, etc. This system would make the child physically fit and develop in him the capacity to work while his intellectual faculties are exercised. This is the Basic Education, about which much is being talked and done in India. Reverend Jerome Desouza, S.J., member of the Constituent Assembly of India and also of the U.N.O., explains what this basic education is:

This notion of education through crafts, through the development of the sense of touch and of the cultivation of physical skills, is one of the most important educational experiments launched in India. It shows at how many points the Father of the country touched the lives of the peoples, and how little he was inclined to tackle problems without going to their roots. The integral notion of Basic education as outlined by Mahadma Gandhi and his closest lieutenants, has not been yet implemented in all parts of India. But the spirit of it has been absorbed in the elementary education systems of all provinces and Basic education centres and trainings schools have been started by the hundred in this province and in all other provinces of India. In fact because that Fundamental education is sometimes called Basic education, "education de base," the vast official schemes for the promotion of basic education in the Gandhian sense, are sometimes mistaken for schemes of fundamental education in the wider sense which UNESCO has given to it. But there is no doubt that the Indian concept

of basic education through handicrafts is a revolutionary concept both from the pedagogical point of view and from the point of view of training for citizenship in an economically backward democracy like India. Basic education centres and training schools for basic teachers are being rapidly multiplied, and the entire scheme of compulsory Primary education in India for children is being profoundly modified by the concept of Basic Education.²⁶

This move will certainly revolutionize and help to overhaul the existing system of education in India, at least at the primary levels. This system will have to be coordinated with the secondary and university courses of education.

The basic education scheme of Gandhiji, which was inaugurated in 1939, is also called the "Wardha Scheme." Many of the ideas contained in the Wardha scheme were embodied in the famous Sergeant Scheme, which was prepared by Sir John Sergeant, former educational adviser to the government of India. The scheme aimed at the introduction of universal, free, and compulsory education for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14.

Last year a secondary-education commission, with Dr. A. L. Lekhmana Swami Mudaliar, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, as chairman, was appointed to conduct a comprehensive survey, to investigate the whole question of secondary education in India, and to make suitable recommendations for its improvement. The commission did a very efficient job, and the report it published is a most valuable and significant document.²⁷

²⁶ Social Action, Poona, February 1953, p. 344.

²⁷ The Government of India, Report of the Secondary Education Commission, New Delhi, 1953.

As space does not permit going into the report, the writer can only suggest that the implementation of the recommendations of the report will counteract ably most of the existing defects of the present system and will go a long way to counteract the menace of Communism in India.

According to this report, the status and conditions of service of teachers must be improved considerably and speedily. The low standard of pay of the teachers in India adversely affects the whole system of education. Improvements effected on this line will be a big step forward and the teachers now swelling the ranks of Communists will then certainly fight against Communism, if only the recommendation of the commission in this regard is given effect immediately.

Lack of technical education is one of the main reasons why the educated go without employment and why they begin to advocate Communism. Fortunately the commission has given very wise suggestions on this vital issue too. Besides the technical education that may be imparted at the high or higher secondary stage, it has been suggested that technical education should be available (1) to those who may not be suited to pursue the full higher secondary course, (2) to those who, after completing the secondary course, wish to pursue technical education in Polytechnical or Occupation Institutes, and (3) to the large body of individuals who may be gainfully employed but have a desire to improve their knowledge and prospects by attending part-time evening classes for subjects of their choice.

Following the fundamentals of the Wardha scheme, the training of craftsmen for industry has been stressed, while the importance of apprenticeship-training and securing the cooperation of industry in all schemes of

technical education has been clearly stated. The commission has recommended the adoption of suitable legislation for apprenticeship training in industry on a mutually profitable basis, so as to secure the whole-hearted cooperation of industry.

No doubt these are wise and practical recommendations which are being actually followed in technically advanced countries like the United States and Britain. This will, it is hoped, greatly improve the unemployment situation and prevent many of the educated from being attracted to entering the communistic cells.

Another epoch-making report²⁸ on university education in India has been published by its chairman, Sir Radha Krisnan, the Vice-president of the Republic of India. In general the commission is opposed to the multiplication of universities on a regional or communal basis. It favors the establishment of rural universities. It is very encouraging to note that it emphasizes the importance of religious instruction. "All educational institutions," says the report, "should start work with a few minutes of silent meditation."

It should be admitted that the Communists have managed to infiltrate not only among university students but also among the high schools students. The tone of discipline and orderliness prevailing among the high school student population is far from being satisfactory. Mr. Saunders Redding, an American gentleman, after touring throughout India and in particular visiting colleges, in a book he has recently published with the title An American in India, has

²⁸ Government of India Publication, Department of Education, All India University Communism Report, 1951.

remarked on this matter: "Indian college students are among the most irascible, rude and rowdy that can be found."²⁹

A reform effected in the schools, colleges and universities, on the lines suggested above, will, it is hoped, bring about a better system of education and a better educated citizenry to intelligently confront the ideas of Communists in their midst.

Organization of the Labor Force and Its Liberation from Communistic Infiltration. The Communists are after labor; the workers in industries and firms and the workers on the farm. The former they try to liberate from the thralldom of the capitalists and the latter from the exploitation of the landlords. Their industrial policy and the agrarian reforms are directed against the above two. They are busy capturing labor unions and the entire labor force. This is a particularly great menace to the country. Hence it is of utmost importance to organize the labor on sound principles and to liberate them from the Communist forces.

As the country's general economic stability and progress depends on the welfare of the working people of the country, the Constitution of the Indian Republic wisely guarantees their rights.³⁰ There are ample written provisions for food, clothing and shelter; for health services; for social

29 Reviewed in Chicago Sunday Tribune, October 17, 1954.

30 The Constitution of the Republic of India - Labor.

security; for educational facilities; for cultural advancement; for fair treatment by the management and employers; for freedom for organizations and collective bargaining; for all the lawful means for the promotion and protection of rights and interests.

The government can only legislate. Much depends upon the employer-employee relationship. The economic progress of a nation is necessarily bound up with industrial peace, which in turn is bound up with the cordial relationship between the management and the labor force. The dignity of human labor and the vital role of the worker must receive due recognition. Industrial relations are human relations. The worker must be made to feel that he has a share in the working of the industry. This fundamental factor for the success of labor relations must above all be borne in mind both by the employer and the employee. Father Nevett's amplification of this idea is splendid:

While capital is necessary for production, it is work that is the chief factor in the production of wealth and which must be given the largest share of the profits. This claim is justified, not only because work is more productive than other factors, but because work is something more valuable in itself. The worker gives of himself; his work is something living, something human, an extension of himself, while capital gives something dead, something material; money, goods, and services. The worker, because he gives what is most important, has the first claim on the profits; he has given his strength, his time, the best of his life, practically himself. He has contributed the major share, the living reality as it were, in the production of wealth. Capital supplies the material, necessary also, but less productive, less valuable, and less important than work. It supplies the lifeless element. The union of capital and labour in production may perhaps be compared to the union of body and soul in man. The body is necessary, but secondary; it receives its value and dignity from the soul without which it would be lifeless and without value. Because work is both more productive and more valuable, the capitalists' share should be secondary to the workers'. The worker has a prior claim to a family wage and a

fair share in the profits. The error of capitalism is not to receive profits--to which it has a legitimate claim--but to treat the worker as nothing more than one of the material factors in production, as one of the costs, and to claim all the profits without first paying a family wage and giving labour a just share of the remaining profits.³¹

It certainly pays the capitalist to realize this important fact, and he is made to do so by the force of organized labor. If, on the other hand, the capitalist is slow to recognize this fact and act accordingly, Communist labor organizations might teach him undesirable lessons. The most important measure against a Communist invasion of India is to see that humane and cordial relations are maintained between the capital and labor of the country.

Trade unions of workers should be encouraged by management, and differences of opinion and grievances should be settled by amicable adjustment by means of collective bargaining. As a last measure, recourse may be had to impartial investigation and arbitration.

A word may be said about the evolution of trade unions in India. With the object of securing representation at the ILO at the Geneva conference, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was established in 1920. The union received support from every quarter, particularly from the Indian National Congress. However, owing to a difference of opinion, a National Federation of Trade Unions was formed out of the AITUC. Acharya Kripalani inaugurated in May, 1947, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), which has gained considerable support and sympathy from the labor force in general.

The Communist Party is trying to capture the INTUC. At present

³¹ Nevett, India Going Red?, pp. 284-5.

there is practically no union that is not tainted with Communistic ideas. The great task facing the unions now is to see that they are purged of the Communists. This could be achieved by implementing the Constitution which offers better prospectus about wages, social security, working conditions, etc. The organization of the unions must be vigorously continued. The assistance of international labor may be utilized for a survey of existing organizations and their methods of work, job classifications and wage scales with a view to suggesting improvements to increase efficiency and productivity which they say is steadily going down. So also a training-within-industry program is desirable. This would improve supervisory skill by three separate measures, namely, job instruction, to develop skill in workers in their particular operations; job relation, to develop skill in management of personnel; and job methods, to develop skill in improving working technique. Experts should be invited, preferably from the United States of America, under the technical assistance program to organize training in the above methods.

The laborers in India are involved in the politics of the country. This is because they have been trained by the British labor leaders who have a Labor Party in their political structure. In the Indian set-up it would be more prudent for labor not to commit itself irrevocably to political activity. They would not be losers by an abstention from politic affiliation through a Labor Party. They should keep away from final political endorsement as far as possible. But they could gain all that they want by following a policy of "rewarding friends and punishing foes," in the elections and other political activities. Another important suggestion would be to keep the government out as far as possible, i.e., the least and minimum interference

on the part of the government in the purely union affairs.

All over the world the labor unions continue their fight for their privileges and rights. Here is a formula which the AFL of the United States has published on the eve of one election. With such changes as were deemed wise, the formula could be adopted for the Indian labor unions too:

Program for all America

What does labor want? Here are the planks in the platform written by the 73rd AFL convention in Los Angeles. They are designed for a stronger, more prosperous America--for all workers, whether in unions or unorganized.

1. Make full employment and full production nation's No. 1 job, with the government pushing public and private plans to raise consumer buying power through bigger pay envelopes.
2. A stronger national defense.
3. More public housing for low-income families, and helps for building middle-income housing.
4. Lower taxes for those in low income groups so those families will have more to spend on things they need.
5. Raise minimum wages to at least \$1.25 an hour.
6. Get rid of roadblocks to free collective bargaining, so unions and bosses can arrive at contracts without interference of government boards, Taft-Hartley or "right-to-work" laws.
7. Steps to raise farm income so farm families can buy things made by city workers because every body knows depressions are "farm bred and farm led."
8. Raise unemployment insurance payments.
9. Build labor unity so all unions men and women can work together to gain these goals for all.

10. Step up political activity to elect a congress ready, willing, and able to adopt this kind of Program for America.³²

Active Counter Propaganda against Communistic Propaganda. In a previous chapter, the nature of Communistic propaganda and the insidious way it works and reaches the masses was pointed out. One of the best ways of fighting communism, therefore, is by a counter propaganda. The Communist can make use of any means provided the interests of the Soviet state and the orders from the Kremlin are exactly followed. This is a positive disadvantage to an anti-Communist.

The first task in this line is to see that the conspiratorial activities of the Communists are exposed to the public as clearly as possible, so that every individual can see and judge the merit of the case himself. Lies and calumnies must be exposed as such. The Democratic Research Service of Bombay is doing an excellent work in this respect. Such material should be disseminated all over the country by translating it into all the languages of India. Anti-communist propaganda should make it clear to the people that

communism is an international conspiracy against the people's freedom, progress and prosperity; that its interests are not the interests of the people and the country, but the interests of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state; that the misery and the hunger and the distress of the people are things with which the communists play in order to entrench themselves in power; and that once in power, they make short work of all the rights and liberties of the people and subject them to an absolute and cruel tyranny, the like of which the world has never seen before.³³

32 Handbills published by the AFL Union, Chicago, in November, 1954.

33 Democratic Research Service, For a Democratic Foreign Policy, Bombay, 1951, p. 27.

Descending to particulars, all the techniques of propaganda which the Communists make use of should be adopted by the anti-communists as means of propaganda, exposing the true nature of the Communists. Literature exposing the tricks and lies of the Communists, popular songs in the very tunes which the Communists sing, couching beautifully Communist fallacies, organization of exhibitions which would tell the truth about the Communistic exhibitions, conducting study circles calculated to teach the right doctrines of democracy and freedom, arranging for public demonstrations like processions and public meetings with the salutation to the national flag, universal use of slogans contradictory to those used by the Communists, e.g., "inquilab sindabad"³⁴ (let revolution win) may be supplanted by "inquilab murdhabad" (down with revolution), the steady application of the press, platform and the radio to expose the communistic propaganda; capturing of the film and the movie lands to show the true pictures of life rather than the exaggerated or unwarranted spheres of life, inculcating in the minds of youngsters in homes and schools the value of true freedom and democracy against the fallacy of the Communists--these are some of the means and ways of counteracting the vicious propaganda of the Communists.

It may be of particular interest to note the insidious way in which the Communist propaganda is making its appeal to the masses. The comrades know only too well that the personality of Grandhiji and the influence of his message has a great hold on the masses in India and also on the intelligentsia.

³⁴ This slogan is invariably shouted by the Communists at all their demonstrations.

In an effort to use this influence, they have begun to preach that Gandhiji was a Communist, and dare even to quote some of his sayings in support of this "big lie." Falsehoods of this sort should be exposed, as has been done by M. R. Masani:

Gandhi represents the complete antithesis to the communist and has been recognized as such in the Moscow Press and Radio for over three decades. The communist swears by dialectical materialism--matter is essence, the mind a by-product; Gandhi preached the supremacy of spirit and mind over matter. To the communist the end justifies the means; to Gandhi the means were everything--means and ends were like the seed and the tree; and so Gandhi pronounced soviet communism to be 'repugnant' to India. Stalin, Malenkov, and Mao preach the need to hate the class and national enemy; Gandhi the need to love all. Communism seeks to centralize and collectivize everything; Gandhi the need to decentralize and to distribute power both politically and economically. The communist glorifies the state; Gandhi, conscious of the distinction. . . . Identifying himself with the lowliest in the scale of caste--Harijan or untouchable--Gandhi recalled the words of Him who said: "in as much as you do it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."³⁵

Expositions of this type will certainly enable the intelligentsia to see the truth. This but an example.

Safeguarding Political Unity. At a time when the Communists are trying to exploit every weakness in India, political disunity is bound to vitally affect the solidarity of the nation. It must also be remembered that the nation gained independence only seven years ago and, therefore, that the people at large must attain political consciousness in order to handle elections and the political situation on a democratic basis.

35 Masani, The Communist Party of India, p. 234.

first adult suffrage and general elections were in 1952. The electorate voted the Congress Party into power with an absolute majority in 18 out of 22 states, and also at the center. In four state assemblies the Congress was returned as the largest single party, but short of absolute majority.

Of the representatives selected for 22 state assemblies, 2247 were congress men, 124 Socialists, 147 Communists and their allies, 77 belonged to the Kissan Masdoor Party, 33 were Jan Sangh party nominees, 12 represented the Scheduled Castes Federation, and 326 came from the Independent Party.

Of the 103,592,000 votes cast in Assembly elections, the Congress won 2247 of the 3283 seats it contested, or 81.96 percent. In the four states of Madras, Travancore Cochin, Pepsu and Orissa, the Congress Party was returned as the largest single party though not in absolute majority. The challenge to the Congress in the southern states of Madras and Travancore came from the Communist Party and its allies.

Next to the Congress, the Communist Party and its allies secured the largest number of seats in the assembly sections with 181 seats out of 587 seats they contested, and their nominees obtained 6.04 percent of the total votes cast. The party had notable success in the Travancore Cochin, Madras, Hyderabad and in Part C state of Tripura on Burma border. Contesting mostly as independents, Communists in Travancore Cochin combined with the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Kerala Socialist Party to form the united front of Leftists and secured 32 seats. In the states of Madras, the Communists won 61 seats in the Assembly. In Hyderabad, contesting on the ticket of the peoples' Democratic Front, they annexed 42 seats and in West Bengal, 28 seats. In Tripura, the small Chief Commissioner's state, the

Communists and the Independents secured an absolute majority, gaining 16 out of 30 seats. The Communists met with a complete failure in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajesthan, Surashetra and uttar Pradesh, where it drew a complete blank though it put up 110 candidates in these states.

The Socialist Party, (now called the Praja Socialist Party), which contested the largest number of seats after the Congress, returned only 126 candidates out of 1703 contesting the Assembly elections on the party ticket.

In a multitude of parties, with all the differences of castes and creeds, the votes were naturally divided and the Communists small scale victory is due to this fact. Hence it is absolutely necessary in the present set-up of the party position in the parliament that political unity of the party be maintained, at least until such time as the Congress will purge the country of the communist threat. Healthy opposition, of course, is a condition sine qua non of a sound democracy; but in the face of a Communist Party ready to exploit any political tangle, destructive opposition in the electorate is fraught with a positive danger. Every individual voter should be told to rally round the Congress banner and to give his hearty support to the Congress, and its program in spite of its failings on occasion.

Striving after unity is the greatest need of the hour for the nation. It may call for big sacrifices, selfless efforts and great moral courage on the part of each and every individual; but these qualities will pay and will contribute much to preserve and promote the sacred values, the peace and prosperity of the nation. Father Nevett has his thoughtful reflections on this question:

In such cases any democracy with a multiparty system is always at a disadvantage, because it has to put the good of the country above that of the party and care more for the common good than for the chances of that particular party forming the government in the next elections. At the time of writing the Congress party now forming the government is in danger of falling from the frying pan to the fire. If, afraid of losing votes it does not take the necessary unpopular measures, the people will turn to communism to solve the many growing problems; but on the other hand, the passing of unpopular measures, ably exploited by the opposition, will cause congress to lose votes to communism. There is risk here that has to be taken. But to take risks needs firmness, energy and foresight. Will these qualities be forthcoming?³⁶

Revival of a Deep Spirit of Religion. To check the growth of communism in India, the revival of faith and the spirit of religion should be first and foremost. Both the Communists and the anti-Communists harp upon the material prosperity and progress of man. But there is a great difference between them. The Communist denies God, faith, and religion, and asserts his faith in man and his material progress; the soundly grounded anti-Communist, on the other hand, bases his socio-economic plans on his deep belief in his Creator and God and in his faith in religion and morality. The basic need, therefore, of religion and morality to efficiently oppose communism is clear.

As was shown earlier, the Communists are very cautious and diplomatic in their attacks on religion. They know only too well that it would be poor psychology to talk suddenly about atheism and irreligion to a people with strong religious traditions. The systematic attack on religion comes only slowly and by degrees, as occasion and necessity present themselves. It is interesting to note that when Sri Rajagopalachari, the chief minister of

³⁶ Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 28.

Madras, advised the people to pray for rain, a volley of ridicule and wild criticism was levelled against him by the Communists.³⁷ On another occasion, when the same chief minister referred to God in the Parliament, the Communist opposition contended that in a secular state there was no place for God.³⁸ However, they "carefully avoid every kind of insult against the sentiments of worshippers because this would lead only to an intensification of religious fanaticism."

Since its ideology is necessarily atheistic, Communism will attack religion. Lenin wrote: "Our program rests in its entirety on scientific philosophy and notably on materialistic philosophy. Our propaganda, therefore, necessarily embraces atheism."³⁹ And here is the gospel according to Marx:

Religion is the sob of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the spirit of conditions utterly unspiritual. . . . It is the opiate of the people. . . . The criticism of religion is a criticism of the vale of misery. . . . The removal of religion as the illusory of the people means the demand of the people for their real happiness.⁴⁰

India has been deeply religious for centuries. It was noted above that about 85 per cent of the population of India is Hindu by religion. It must be remembered that in spite of the repeated conquests of India recorded in history and in spite of the fact that the conquerors exerted all their

37 The Times of India, Bombay, January 23, 1953.

38 The Hindu, Madras, February 3, 1953.

39 Quoted by Nevett, India Going Red?, p. 227.

40 Ibid.

influence toward converting the Hindu to a different religion, India still remains Hindu. During the reign of Asoka, it was thought that the whole of India would become Buddhist, and Asoka did all he could to propagate Buddhism throughout the country; the Mohammedans had a long period of rule and the Mohammedan emperors even made use of force and arms to proselytise the Hindus to Mohammedanism; the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British tried to convert the Hindus to Christianity in their own way; but the country is still predominantly Hindu. This means that Hindu religion has a firm hold on the people and that it has withstood all the vicissitudes of time and people. If, therefore, the Communists were to succeed in conquering India, it would mean that the Hindu will have lost all his faith in religion unless, of course, trickery succeeds.

Unfortunately there is noticeable all over the country a general slackening of religious fervor and morality. People are beginning to be indifferent about religion. A system of education which gives little or no attention to religion and morality has been primarily responsible for this unhappy state of affairs.

A thorough misunderstanding of the term "secular state" used in the Constitution of India has developed on the part of the masses. The interpretation given to it by Communists has labelled all sorts of religious sentiments and all fights for religious rights and privileges as detestable "Communalism," even by persons in very responsible positions. Finally, a spirit of religious indifferentism manifested by the so called intelligentsia has undoubtedly contributed to a lowering of religious fervor among the people. The Communists knew that the Hindu religion, the Hindu way of life

with its timeold traditions and mores and its firm hold on the family, were a great menace to their success in India. But of late Hindus in general seem not to be alive to the serious danger to which Hinduism would be exposed in the event of a Communist victory. Even political parties based essentially on Hinduism, such as the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangha, are conspicuously unconcerned about a possible attack by Communism upon the Hindu religion. The Hindu leaders should try to awaken the masses of Hindus to the great threat to which their religion is exposed, instead of fighting other religions which they think are a menace to Hinduism.

It is only the Catholic Church that has in unequivocal terms declared its uncompromising attitude towards Communism, and the Church will exert all her powers to fight Communism in India and all the world over. All the other religions, too, stand to lose much on account of Communism. India is a country where religion is still held in esteem. This fact should enable the people to hold fast to religion and morality and thereby thwart the threat of Communism.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNISM AND TRAVANCORE COCHIN STATE

Communism and Travancore Cochin State. A study of the type undertaken in this paper would not be complete without special reference to Malabar¹ or the state of Travancore Cochin. Mr. Saunders Redding refers, in his recent book published after extensive travel in India, to Travancore Cochin State in the words of the Most Reverend Thomas Fothakamury, the Archbishop of Mangalore, S. India: it "has the highest percentage of Christianity, highest percentage of literacy and also the highest percentage of communism in India."² The statement is literally true. It is but natural that the communists should attack this "cradle of Christianity," where the Catholic Church, enemy number one of the communists, is making rapid progress. Hence, in the following pages an attempt will be made to consider the growth of communism in Travancore Cochin State, where the Communist Party of India is desperately concentrating its attention.

1 Malabar is that part of south India which lies along the southwestern coast to the west of the Western Ghats. It extends from Mount Dily in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. Rich in its natural products, it had commercial relations from very ancient days with the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Syrians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs. (Cf. The Centenary Celebration Committee, St. Francis Xavier, Ernakulam, 1952.) Travancore is often called Malabar. There is a district in the Madras State with the same name lying adjacent to and north of Travancore Cochin. Malayalam is the language of both these areas.

2 Saunders Redding, An American in India, Indianapolis, 1954, p. 183.

The Travancore Cochin state was formed by the integration of the erstwhile states of Travancore and Cochin on July 1, 1949. It is the southernmost Indian state, occupying the southwestern portion of the Indian peninsula. In shape it is an irregular triangle with its apex at Cape Comorin, skirted on the north and east by the state of Madras, and washed on the west and south by the Arabian sea, the Indian ocean, and, in part, the Bay of Bengal.

The state spreads over an area of 9,143.9 square miles and has a population of over 9 million.³ The average density of population according to the 1951 census figures is 1,015 per square mile of the total area, as against 816 per square mile for 1941. The density of population in the cultivated area is 1,919 per square mile, in rural areas 881 per square mile, and in urban areas nearly 5,000 per square mile. There are 4,130 villages, 98 towns, and 1,553,077 occupied houses. Of the total population of 9,280,425, the males number 4,620,803 and the females 4,659,622. The mean decennial growth rate is 21.2 per cent, of which 20.9 per cent are males and 25.6 per cent females. The sex ratio is 1,800 females per 1,000 males.

3 The Government of Travancore Cochin, Travancore Information, Trivandrum, 1951.

On the basis of religion the population is distributed as follows:⁴

TABLE X
THE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF TRAVANCORE COCHIN

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number</u>
Hindus	5,587,852
Christians	2,968,030
Muslims (Mohammedans).	721,227
Jews	2,288
Jains.	354
Sikhs.	275
Buddhists.	40
Zoroastrians	38
Others	321
Total	9,280,425

The percentage of literacy is 53.8. The percentage of literacy among males is 64.5 and among females, 43.2.

Malayalam is the mother tongue of the majority of the population, and about a million speak Tamil. A few thousands speak the Telungu, Hindi, Gujarati, Konkani, and Maratti languages.

Women enjoy equal status and freedom with men and are afforded equal opportunities in all spheres of activities. Their high standard of education accounts for their active participation in political, social and cultural spheres.

The historic Indian apostolate of St. Thomas, one of the Twelve Apostles of our Blessed Lord, gives a lustre of its own to the state of Travancore Cochin. The apostle, according to the ancient tradition amongst the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar,⁵ who venerate him as their Father in

⁴ The Government of Travancore Cochin, District Census Hand Book, Trivandrum, 1951.

⁵ The Syro Malabar Christians are called from very ancient times "The Mar Thoma Nazranis," i.e. St. Thomas Christians.

Lord, landed at Granganore, on the coast of Travancore Cochin State, in 52 A.D. evidently preached the gospel throughout India, and converted many to Christianity.⁶ But the St. Thomas Christians of the Syro-Malabar and the Malankara Syrian Rite are the sole survivors of the body of St. Thomas Christians once spread all over India. Because of the many persecutions and the other vicissitudes of the centuries, some of the Christians died out, and others returned to Hinduism. Some also must have gone over to the Latin Rite under the Portuguese missions. The St. Thomas Christians in Malabar are still a numerous body and form 75 per cent of the Catholic population of the Travancore State. Of the total number of Christians in the State (2,960,030, as cited above), 1,033,390 belong to the Syro-Malabar Rite and about 100,000 to the Malankara Syrian Rite. About a million of the schismatics who fell away from the Syro-Malabar Church during the Portuguese period are descendants of the St. Thomas Christians. The rest, who number about 850,000, belong to the Latin Rite. The Catholics of the Travancore Cochin State total about two million in a population in excess of nine million, and they wield power and influence in social as well as political matters. There are three hierarchies and three rites: The Most Reverend Augustine Kandathil, Archbishop Metropolitan for the Syro-Malabar Rite with five suffragan dioceses; The Most Reverend Joseph Attipetty

6 The apostle was martyred at Mylapore Madras, where his tomb is venerated to this day. His mortal remains were removed to Eddessa and later to Italy. In December, 1954, a portion of his relics were returned to the St. Thomas Christians when His Eminence Cardinal Eugene Tisserant deposited them in a shrine at Granganore, where the apostle landed in 52 A.D.

archbishop of Verapoly, with four suffragan diocese for the latin rite; Most Reverend Mar. J. Severios, Archbishop-Bishop of Tiruvalla with two suffragan bishops for the Malnkara Syrian rite.

The Syro-Malabar Catholics now send out hundreds of missionaries both as religious secular priests to the various dioceses in India. The syro-malabar carmelite congregation founded in 1831 as a Syro-Malabar branch of the ancient Carmel of the Discalced Carmelites is the outstanding religious congregation among them. They number about 800 priests and as many scholastics and novices.

The Communist Party in Travancore Cochin. The history of the Communist party in Travancore Cochin is similar to that in the whole of India. Most of the leaders of the party were originally members of the congress party, but later, for some reason or other mostly political, they began to swing to the left and ultimately became communists. Few among the Congress supporters who became communists, were not in the forefront until a few disgruntled congressmen supplied them with the necessary leadership.

E. M. Sankaran Nambudiripad, A. K. Gopalan,⁷ K. C. George, M. N. Govindan Nair, T. V. Thomas, P. T. Punnose, etc., who are supposed to be the leading communists in Travancore Cochin state and also of the whole communist party of India, hail from Malabar. They were all ardent admirers of Gandhiji and Pandit Javaharal Nehru in their younger days in India's struggle for freedom.

⁷ A. K. Gopalan is the leader of opposition in the parliament in Delhi. He is Moscow trained.

There were two important political movements in the state: one for securing equal status with the Hindus who were monopolizing all public services and the other to free the country from the autocratic government of Sir C. P. Swamyrama Iyer, an astute and clever Brahmin from Madras who served the Maharaja of Travancore as his Dewan, or Minister, for about 17 years. The communists identified themselves with these movements and struggles and thus easily came into contact with the masses, hiding, of course their communist nature. Another opportunity presented itself for the communists to exploit. Sir C. P. Rama Swamy Iyer could not brook the growth and progress of the Christians and of Catholics in particular of the state. He started a subtle persecution of christians, slowly curtailing one by one their social, educational and religious rights. Things reached a climax, when he struck his blow against the christians schools by a policy of nationalization of education in the state. All christians under the leadership of Catholics, especially the courageous Bishop Dr. James Kalacherry of Changanacherry rose equal to the occasion by a state-wide agitation against the dictator. The communists promised unsought-for help to the Catholics in their fight against the government, evidently to paralyze the government. But the Catholics seeing that the country-wide agitation was an excellent opportunity for the communists to infiltrate the masses with their doctrines and to break down the morale of the masses refused the help promised. The communists, however, succeeded in setting up agitation in schools and colleges by means of strikes and acts of undiscipline. In 1946 Sir C. P. Rama Swamy Iyer the Dewan, speaking in the state Assembly said: "wherever it is possible to handicap or obstruct or hinder the government of Travancore, the communist party is

prepared to join in any political party, any social group, any organization that is formed to organize processions, to brandish flags utter slogans and say "the world is coming to an end and the communists should save the world."⁸

The Dwan although a declared enemy of the communists, sometimes went to the extent of currying their favor in carrying out some of his autocratic and overambitious schemes. When the British declared their intention of withdrawing from India, leaving the native states over which they had paramount rights, to themselves with the absolute right to join the Indian Union or Pakistan or to remain independent, he in alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad and some others curiously enough, demanded that Travancore, Hyderabad and Kashmir should be declared independent. This move was warmly supported by the communists to create trouble in the state and also in the whole of India.

Meanwhile the communists began to be active among laborers, peasants, teachers, students, journalists, etc., forming groups and cells all over the country.⁹ With spacious promises, they set up agitation among the masses. The idealistic youth and the fire in them was exploited and fanned to such a degree that sober minds began to lose hope.

To put an end to the autocratic government of Sir C. P. Rama Swamy Iyer, the communists joined the congress party and worked very hard. But

⁸ Proceedings of the Travancore State Assembly, Vol. 27, p. 31, Trivandrum, 1946.

⁹ Father Nevett's Survey and the survey conducted by the New Manists of Ernakulam enumerate the same categories.

mostly they concentrated their attention in centres of labor and industry, like Alleppey, Quilon, Shertallai, etc.,¹⁰ Communist literature among those who could read and communist ideologies by means of public demonstrations among the illiterate were spread during these times of unrest. Very soon labor grew into a mighty force of the Communists and they tried to terrorize the government and the people by bloodshed and violence not known in the country.¹¹ This was done in compliance with the general policy of labor strikes, students, disturbances, murder arson and looting ordered by the communist part of India.

From 1946 to 1949 the communist party in the state attacked several police stations, murdered several inspectors of police and constables, aroused the criminals in the central jail of the state to disobedience and undiscipline, set up strikes among students in colleges and schools who became violent and unruly, and perpetrated many other outrages which the state had not ever witnessed before.

In the elections held in 1947 the communists put up several of their candidates to oppose the congress, but all of them were defeated. In the next general election of March 1952, they contested on a large scale under the name of the "United Front" and managed to win 32 seats. As the ministry fell consequent upon a non-confidence motion, the state had to hold another

10 These are the industrial centres of the state.

11 There was a huge Communist cell at a place called Vailar near Shertallai where armed instruction was planned. But Sir C. P. Rama Swamy Iyer's government managed to wipe the cell out completely, and the leaders went under ground.

election in February 1954 in which, entering into an agreement with the Socialist party, Communists opposed the congress and won 40 seats. This victory in the Travancore state was phenomenal. When the congress contested 115 seats and won only 45 i.e., about 40 percent of the contested seats, the Communists won 25, i.e., about 60 percent of the contested seats. Is to be remembered that this unprecedented defeat for the congress came immediately after the great leaders of the congress like the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, Rajagopalachariar, Morai Desai, S. K. Pattil and so many others came to the scene of the elections in the state and predicted overwhelming and glorious victory for the congress. The communists were working hard and going about their business with calculation and extreme circumspection, while the Congress was taking things quite easy as they were cocksure of victory. The want of unity on the part of the Congress members and their failure to conciliate the disgruntled congressmen who had become communists, helped the communists to gain more votes. The idealism particularly of the youth was exploited by the communists, while the congress was going about the old fashion way of doing things.¹²

One Mr. T. V. Thomas, formerly a Catholic, is the accredited leader of the communist in the state. He has been lately elected the President of Trade Union of Alleppey and as the leader of the United Front Legislature

¹² Because of the predominance of Christians in the Congress party of the state the Hindus with a communal spirit deserted the congress and joined with the Praja Socialist Party which is Hindu dominated. This is another important cause for the defeat of the congress in the state.

Party, which is a combination of the Communist, the Revolutionary Socialists, and the Karala Socialist Parties. In a statement which he issued, the following demands were made: the removal of bans on political parties, the removal of the ban on trade unions, the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of warrants against political prisoners, and the cancellation of laws restricting the freedom of the press.¹³ All this means but one thing: license to propagate and consolidate communism in the state.

The Newman Association of the town of Ernakulam, of which the author had been spiritual director, made a study of the subject of communism and its speedy growth in the Travancore Cochin State. The following is the substance of the answers to the questionnaire sent out:¹⁴

1. Among workers, especially factory workers, students, and the poor, communist propaganda is active and successful. The communists have obtained a foothold among the laborers. They have organized all kinds of labor; and they have championed the cause of labor with considerable success in securing better conditions for the workers.¹⁵ They have also established cells and committees, following up the organization methods of the party. The workers are the best propagandists for them. Of late, students and a few middle-class people have also joined the ranks of the propagandists, who are trained through the party literature which is available in every part of the country and through meetings and cells.
2. Communism is regarded by labor and the poor as the best means of improving their economic condition. Students are attracted to it by the spirit of revolt as well as by its ideological appeals though not correctly understood.
3. The low standard of living of the masses, the indifference of the better classes to the needs of the poor, and great unemployment are some of the causes which have led to the growth of communism in the state.

¹³ The Malayala Manorama (a daily paper), Kottayam, August 13, 1954.

¹⁴ The summary of the various answers were coordinated by a member of the Association as given in No. 9.

¹⁵ The strikes in factories were organized by communists. In most cases better wages were secured.

4. Communists make use of all means of propaganda such as pamphlets cheap literature, papers, magazines, and group meetings. They try to infiltrate even into neutral organizations. They have made very profitable use of unemployment, land problems, capitalism and corruption on the part of some government servants as subjects for propaganda.
5. As for religion some communists seem indifferent to religion others are anti-religious and all are against the Catholic church which they assert is reactionary, averse to all progress and champion of the existing order of Socio-economic system. As they consider the Catholic church enemy number one of the communist they dis-credit the church as far as possible.
6. The masses have been led to believe that Russia and China are models for improving the conditions prevailing in India and particularly in the Travancore Cochin state. They want to abolish all private ownership and introduce instead collective farming. The Zamindaris and landowners are to be paid no compensation at all for the land to be taken from them.
7. The indifference on the part of many and an attitude of minimizing the magnitude of the danger of the communistic threat have contributed to the growth of communism in the state. The only method used to any extent to counteract the communist menace was to condemn it as anti-religious. Very little has been effectively done to expose the fundamental errors of communism and to impress the people of the impracticability of the communist program. Too much of bad psychology is being evinced, particularly by the Catholic clergy in merely condemning communists and guarding the faithful from contamination in a negative way.
8. On the part of Catholics knowledge of the Catholic religion and the practice of it is an effective means of counteracting the growth of communism in the state but, the imparting of sound Catholic education to the children in Catholic schools in a Catholic atmosphere has been very much neglected in spite of the fact that they spend large amounts of money for education.
9. The division among Catholics based on rites, race and other accidental differences, make it easy for communists to work among Catholics of state more successfully than in any other part of India.

The ideas contained in the above nine points give the clue to the communist trends in the Travancore Cochin state. Why the Travancore Cochin

state above all other states in India should have so easily paved the way for communists is worth examining.

The population of the state consists of three major communities,¹⁶ as shown in Table X:

TABLE X

MAJOR COMMUNITIES IN TRAVANCORE COCHIN

<u>Community</u>	<u>Number</u>
Ezhavas	2,387,852
Nairs	2,200,000
Christians	2,968,030

Ezhavas. Numerically, this is the most important community in the state. About thirty years ago, the Ezhavas were a part of the depressed-class society. Although originally Hindus, because of caste prejudices and their depressed nature they were prohibited from entering Hindu temples and even from practicing their religion. The Ezhavas are poor and for the most part landless. Each caste in India, especially the depressed castes, has its own trade. The Ezhavas' trade was tapping toddy, an intoxicating drink, from the coconut blossom, and originally they did nothing else. Of late, however, they have taken to factory work and the other types of work of the laboring class.

Because of their preponderance in numbers in comparison with other communities in the democratic state of Travancore Cochin, the Ezhavas have begun to wield great political power. They also have enormous influence on the other depressed classes, who follow them as friends in affliction. They have been waging war on the Hindu community, which looked down

¹⁶ Other minor communities number 1,724,543, which, when added to 7,555,882, gives a total population of 9,280,425, as shown on page 129.

upon them, as low castes. As a result of the powerful anti-God and anti-religious propaganda carried on by their leaders, this community full of vigor and enthusiasm, has fallen an easy prey to the communists. The youth of this community who have some education are full fledged communists imbued with the philosophy of communism and the uneducated masses follow the lead that is given to them. Practically therefore, the whole Eshava community has turned communist.

With the rapid growth of industries in the state, the Eshavas flocked to factories and firms for work. They were cleverly organized by the communist leaders into unions with little trouble. They were asked to give up their traditional jobs and their former leaders; and were soon offered better prospects of pay and working conditions, in a classless society.

During the agitation conducted by the christians of the state against Hindu domination in public services of the state, the Eshavas joined hands with the christians.¹⁷ This gave them an occasion to overcome their depressed state and to gain respectability. Above all, it afforded them the opportunity to drill themselves to form a mass movement of social and political emancipation, which at the same time gave the communists an easy opportunity to absorb them.

The poor among the Hindus (Nairs) also went to the labor camp with hope of getting better wages and better treatment which were liberally promised

17 This movement was called the Abstention Movement (Nivarthana) in so far as the christians and Eshavas followed a policy of abstaining from taking part in the political activities of the state assembly.

by the communist dominated labor force. Thus the lower class of the Nair community also drifted into the communist camp.

The christians, who for the most part are farmers, entered factories later. In those regions where farming is not possible they too became factory workers attracted by the better working conditions. It is a pity that the parishes from which these parishioners migrated in search of labor did not miss them much and the parishes to which they migrated in most cases took little care of them. Consequently, the christians too easily were absorbed into the ranks of a labor force fully dominated by communists.

Here, then is the nucleus of the communistic force in the Travancore Cochin State. The Ezhava community as a whole, the Nair in part, and the christians too in part, by the preponderance of the Ezhava influence and by the neglect of the christian leaders, have become communists. It has to be noted here that the huge force of communist labor thus formed has become communist not by conviction nor ideology, but for better wages, better conditions of living, except in a few cases of their leaders.

Nairs. The Nairs have been ancient feudal society. Their tradition and social set-up is completely opposed to communism and its ideology. On account of a peculiar system of inheritance obtaining among them, the community has been slowly sinking into a low economical level. The system is called the "Marumakkathayam," (Matriarchal) by which the property of an individual is inherited by his nephews and nieces, the children of his sisters; it is a matriarchal form of inheritance. This naturally led to the partition and subdivision of families and their property, which brought about a gradual

disintegration and disruption of their economic life and, consequently, social status.¹⁸

The Nairs were attached to the ruling kings by their religion. Since the kings and their Dowans (ministers) were autocrats, offices in public services were shared in an overwhelming number of cases by the members of the Nair community. There was no possibility of employment in a few departments for members of other communities. Hence, the public services of the state were, for a long time, the mainstay of the Nair. This dissuaded them from going into business or agriculture or any other occupation. They kept the government jobs which made them far better off than other communities.

With the new order of things which set in as a result of the democratic set-up in the country, which made it possible for other communities to begin to step into the public services according to the strength of the population, the Nairs suffered a sudden setback which told upon the Nair community as a whole. The result was that the community lost its economic status in the state.

On the other hand, religious fervor began to cool among them. Due to the indifferent sort of education imparted in the schools, the younger-generation Nairs are becoming indifferent to all religion. Because of their inability to secure employment, those of the Nairs who are educated have begun to accept the communist solutions. The older generation of Nairs are on the whole anti-

¹⁸ There are few rich Zamindairs (landlords) among them who own expensive lands. These lands are leased by the tenants who cultivate them. Since the landlords are absent from the land, they are not likely to receive rents as they did in the past.

communists; but the youth cutting themselves completely from the old ideologies of Hinduism, which has very little appeal for them, is struggling hard to get a footing in the new set up of a society largely influenced by communist ideology. The Nair society is eager to regain their leadership in the society, which they lost, of late.¹⁹ The communist soon came to their rescue supplying them with leadership in the fields of labor, politics, society and culture. The youngsters began to organize students and the public under the auspices of the communist party. Thus the second major community in the state too are on the verge of being absorbed by the communists, though not so fully emerged in it as the Eshavas.

Christians. The christians who form the Third major community are divided into a number of subdivisions²⁰ and are unable to present a united bloc, politically or socially.

- A) Catholics
1. The Syro-Malabar Catholics who form the largest majority among the Catholics, were referred to above.
 2. There is a subdivision even among the Syro-Malabars, which is called suddists with a separate diocese and a population of 54,027.
 3. The Latin Catholic with two main subdivisions among them called "500 and 700" with a diocese each to represent them. They number about 800,000.

¹⁹ The failure of the Congress Party in the state is early traceable to this cause. The Nair Communist has allied with the socialists and communists eager for political power.

²⁰ These subdivisions are based on caste and social difference.

4. The Malankara Syrians, who were reunited to the church from the dissident Jacobite church, number about 85,000.²¹

B) Non-Catholics. They are also divided into several groups as:-

- 1) The Jacobites who separated from the Catholic church in the 17th century and they are again subdivided into
 - a) The Orthodox party or the Patriarch's Party,
 - b) The Catholicose Party.
- 2) The Mar Thomaitis
- 3) The Protestants with their many denominations.

It is clear from the above divisions that the christian community is divided into watertight compartments each with its own social set-up.

Of the non-Catholic division the Jacobites are numerous, but owing to internal troubles about their jurisdiction and almost continuous litigations and quarrels, they are losing their faith in Christianity. Many of the youngsters are slowly drifting into Communism. The Marthomaitis are on the whole opposed to Communism but they are numerically not so large. The Protestants are almost like the Marthomaitis in their attitude towards Communism; also a minority.

²¹ The reunion movement was set on foot by the late Most Reverend Mar Ivanios, Archbishop of Trivandrum in 1930. He was one of the most distinguished members of the episcopate of the Jacobite Church of Malabar. Failing in his untiring efforts to bring the dissident Jacobite churches of Malabar back to the Catholic fold, Archbishop Mar Ivanios with his suffragan Mar Theophilos with a deacon and a layman, submitted himself to His Holiness Pope Pius XI, who accorded to him a "big welcome" and inaugurated the Syro-Malankara Rite in the church. Archbishop Mar Ivanios died in July 1953. The reunion movement is making rapid progress, by gaining more dissidents into the Catholic Church.

The only majority community, therefore, that is left to put up a strong fight against Communism in the state is the Catholic. This community is comparatively rich and progressive. In the fields of politics, economy, education, etc., the Catholics have an enviable position. The greater bulk of the Catholic population is agricultural. In banking and other business enterprises they are fairly well off. When compared with other communities the population of the Catholics is highly on the increase. This is only one side of the picture. But there is another side to be considered. Many leaders among the laity and many of the clergy seem to be satisfied with the maintenance of a status quo, which is very dangerous in a fast changing country like India. The rich and the clergy do not seem to realize sufficiently the trend of events. The poor are not taken care of as they should be. The Church is slowly losing hold on the poor and the worker without even realizing it. As the economic pressure increases, the "lower" Middle class, as they are called by sociologists, have many grievances against the rich.

The other communities in the state are still likely to follow a correct lead, if it is given. Hence the threat of Communism in the Travancore Cochin has to be examined keeping the three major communities in view, and particularly the Catholic community. The Congress men in the center have been blaming the Catholics for the setback that the congress received in the recent general elections. To some extent, Catholics deserve the blame; had they been better united and worked more disinterestedly the congress could have won a bigger number of seats.

In addition to the general causes and conditions for the spread of Communism in the world at large and in India in particular, about which

mention has been made in Chapter III, any student of the Travancore Cochin situation will be able to assign a few special causes for the comparatively rapid spread of Communism in the state. Some of these causes will pertain to the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the state and others to the responsibility of Catholics, especially to their life and outlook. If the Catholics in Malabar were to take up the Communist challenge with the earnestness expected of them and to work zealously, with all the means at their disposal, they could deal the death blow to Communists both in that state and probably in the whole of India.

The socio-economic conditions in the state require some special consideration.

Overpopulation. As has already been mentioned, Travancore Cochin is one of the most thickly populated regions in the world. There are four districts in the state:²²

- (1) Trivandrum, comprising 1,491.8 square miles, or about 16.3 per cent of the whole area, with a population of 2,154,192, an increase of 256 per cent during the last fifty years.
- (2) Quilon, with an area of 2,729.6 square miles and a population of 3,026,822, about 32.6 per cent of the whole population. Quilon has had a population increase of about 183.4 per cent during the last thirty years.
- (3) Kottayam, comprising an area of 2,964.1 square miles, with a population of about two million.
- (4) Trichur, with an area of 1,968.1 square miles and a population

22 The Government of Travancore Cochin, District Census Hand Book.

of 2,315,640. This district was the former Cochin state, one of the most advanced and well administered states in the whole of India.

The high density of the population is clear from the above data. In urban areas the population is overcrowded. The small town of Cochin in Trichur is the most thickly populated area in the world. This is an ancient town and a sea port which had commerce in the pre-Christian era with Rome and Greece.

Poverty. Though Travancore Cochin is a land of plenty with fertile soil, plenty of water for irrigation from the numerous rivers which run through most parts of the land and the people are industrious farmers, there is a scarcity of essential articles of food on account of the teeming population. The economic status of the common man is very low, and consequently, there is a very low standard of living. This can be made more clear by a closer examination of economic figures and facts by districts:

Trivandrum.²³ Of the total population hardly 26 percent are self-supporting, 66 percent are non-earning dependents; 8 percent are earning dependents, but one earning member has to support 3 dependents. On the coastal regions people earn their living by fishing, which is a very undependable job. As the fishermen have no scientific methods of catching fish, they have to depend on the weather conditions. They live a hand-to-mouth existence. Having nothing for the unfavorable seasons, they are exposed to starvation and misery. They live in miserable huts on the sea coast. Those who live in rural areas are farmers. Due to the lack of advanced methods of cultivation

23 Ibid., District of Trivandrum.

and a scarcity of water in this section, the farmers have been put to very serious hardships. Often they have been brought to the verge of starvation. But thanks to the Community Project sponsored by the government, the food situation has improved considerably in the last year. The urban population makes its living by commercial activities. In this district the majority of the population is made up of Hindus, who have been employed in government service, as has been mentioned, except in the coastal area, where the majority of the people are Catholics who were converted by St. Francis Xavier in the sixteenth century. Socially, educationally, politically, and culturally, they are a backward community because of their poverty. They are, therefore, tempted to go over to the Communists "to liberate themselves" from their sad economic condition. Because of the political changes in the state which have already been noted, the Hindus are not easily absorbed into the public service; and their economic status is being considerably reduced. The Communists are busy among them.

About fifty per cent of the population of the district are Bahavas, who are pronounced Communists. They are making use of all the methods of the Communists to swell their ranks. In areas where there are factories or firms, most of the laborers are Communists or Communist sympathizers. All the unions are Communist unions. Two daily papers in this area carry on a vigorous Communist propaganda.

Quilon.²⁴ This district has, according to a census of 1951, an average family holding of 3.13 acres in the lowlands of the district, 2.94 acres

²⁴ Ibid., District of Quilon.

in the midlands, and 5.76 in the highlands. The density of the population is very high in the lowlands, ranging from 9,300 people occupying 29.4 cents of land to 2300.

There are many factories throughout the districts and the main industries are mat-making (out of the fiber of coconuts, which is plentiful, in the state), coconut oil mills, Cashew nut factories, ceramics, paper mills, mineral sands factories, cotton mills, tea and coffee plantations and factories attached to them, and some smaller cottage industries.

The percentage of self-supporting persons lies between 21 and 34; non-earning dependents between 56 and 71 percent; earning dependents between 7 and 13; each self-supporting person has to maintain 3 to 4 non-earning dependents.

Literacy is comparatively higher than the other districts of the state. According to the latest census of 1951, there are in the district 1,850 schools with 515,619 students; 3 university colleges, 109 printing establishments, 2 daily papers, 13 weekly papers, 32 monthlies, and 369 libraries.

As to religion, out of every 1000 people, 652 are Hindus, which includes the Eshava population too, 263 Christians, and 85 Moslems.²⁵ Among the Christians of the district the non-Catholics form the majority.

There is a phenomenal growth for Communism in this district, particularly of the coastal regions.

25 Ibid.

Kottayam²⁶ The percentage of self-supporting persons is between 24 and 36; non-earning dependents, between 55 and 71; earning dependents, between 2.8 and 10.5. One member is obliged to support two dependants.

The majority of the population are farmers and businessmen. Catholics are predominant in every walk of life. Some divisions of the district are ninety per cent Catholic.

In education the district is among the most advanced. There are 1,033 schools, 284,379 students, and 4 university colleges. There are three daily papers, including a Catholic daily, several weeklies and monthlies, and a good number of libraries.²⁷

Trichur.²⁸ The self-supporting people of the population number 32 per cent; 62 per cent are non-earning dependents; and 6 per cent are earning dependents. Every earning member supports two dependents.

Cochin, Trichur, and Ernakulam, each with a population of about 100,000, are business centers with many factories, oil mills, coir factories, and cotton mills. Consequently, they are the big centers in this district of the labor force. A predominantly Catholic influence, a social set-up different from other districts, and a healthy tradition prevailing among the people make this district rather tough for Communists. They are, therefore, marshalling

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., District of Trichur.

all their forces to this district and have a good number of cells and underground training centers.

From the above survey it is clear that the great majority of the people are landless dependents and peasants, who have to depend upon their landlords for their habitation, for the land on which they live and cultivate and for the basic necessities of life. The lot of these is very miserable and their standard of life is at its lowest ebb. Agrarian discontent is acute among them.

The concentration of wealth among a very few has excited envy and hatred against the wealthy. This coupled with the unfair treatment most of the wealthy have been meting out to the poor and the worker, have, of late, brought matters to a crisis and the communists naturally stepped into the scene.

It was noted above that the literacy of the state is highest in the whole of India. The colleges of the state have been turning out year by year thousands of graduates, practically all majors in the arts and sciences, with very few technicians among them. Only a very few percentage among them could be employed. The rest after a period of fruitless job-hunting and impatient waiting, go to swell the ranks of the discontented. The youthful idealists of this disappointed group are highly explosive. They often become associated with the communist organizers of the youth of the state. Hence a steady growth of unemployment amongst the educated youth of the state is also a steady growth of communism. This is a special feature of the state. The huge amount of communist literature poured into the country is intended to win the idealism of the youth. They read with avidity about the alleged

progress in Russia and China.

The Communist press is very virulent in the state. In addition to the huge amount of books treating communism in the English language and translations of communist literature into the vernacular of the state, there are half a dozen daily papers as chief agencies to disseminate communistic ideas. The translations of the Russian literature are distributed either free or at a very cheap rate. An account estimates that the communists distribute books worth about Rs. 7000. daily in the state.²⁹

The Ezhavas and the Vales, who are fishermen by occupation, and many other depressed classes, the landless, and the poor, who all put together form a vast majority of the whole population, are desperately materialistic in their outlook. If they have no education they have no religion whatever. These are easily absorbed into the communistic camp.

Another important factor to be reckoned with in this connection is the role of Catholics in the state. Gandhiji the great Indian patriot, once said, that "if christians in India had practiced their religion long ago India would have been theirs."

Lack of Catholic Spirit: Christianity is a leaven and this leaven must be equal to leaven the masses. The Catholics are taught to believe in the doctrine of the mystical Body of Christ and put into practice the consequences following from that doctrine. An ardent love of god and man should enable them to be just and charitable in their relations with others.

²⁹ This is an account taken by the member of the Newsmen Association of Ernakulam.

Statistical evidence might reveal that Catholics of all ranks are not above suspicion on this most important point. Neglect of a sense of justice, fairness and charity in employer-employee landlord-tenant, master-servant relations of Catholics in general are being exposed by communists. The Catholic clergy, the Catholic landlords, the Catholic businessmen and proprietors of concerns should have set a better example of implementing the social teachings of the church so clearly set forth in the papal encyclicals by paying just and fair wages and salaries to those employed by them and thus implemented the social teachings of the church. If not the fervor and glowing charity of the primitive christians, "who had everything in common" and who had but "One body and mind," the spirit of justice and charity should have characterized the social life of Catholics.

Lack of Catholic Education: Lack of Catholic education among the Catholic children is another cause that facilitates matters for communist. The Catholic boys and girls are educated in mixed schools (schollae Mixtae)³⁰ where the syllabi and the schedule of subjects are subject to control of a "secular" set up of education. In most cases the teaching of religion is not allowed in such schools; or relegated to an inconvenient hour outside class hours. On the top of this there is yet another serious handicap. The teachers are generally those coming out of colleges or schools of the type mentioned above. Among them, of whom all may not be Catholics, one may rarely come across atheists, and communists who would dare to ventilate their own ideas to the students. Most of these teachers on account of the low

30 Here the term "Schollae Mixtae" is used in the canonical sense of the word. Cfr. Codex Juris Canonici. Can. 1374.

salary they receive and of their utter inability to keep up a status and standard of living are likely to be at variance with the management. They may even be obliged to take to other vocations to make a living. The absence of Catholic spirit and zeal on the part of teachers and a lack of cooperation between the management and the teacher is in danger of wrecking the Catholic schools and the entire system of education. A series of strikes staged by the teachers, even in Catholic schools during the course of years 1951 and 1952, whatever might have been the motives behind, is an example of the thorough failure of the educational system of the Catholics and the educational set-up is more a triumphant opportunity for the communists to exploit the youth, rather than institutions to counteract the communist threat to the state.

Lack of Unity. Due to the distinctions that are accidental in matters of rite caste and social differences among the Catholics, a great lack of unity even on vital points is discernable among them. This spirit of disunion and the consequent confusion, eats away the vitality of Catholics, in the state, by a dissipation of their energy, by duplication of efforts in the fields in which they ought to work unitedly and harmoniously. This is another rare opportunity for the communists.

Another sad situation is the lack of cooperation and understanding between the clergy and the laity. If this spirit is allowed to continue, it may make itself felt later in the form of anti-clericalism which the communist would feel immensely happy to welcome.

How to remedy the situation is a natural query at this juncture. Here are a few suggestions, which should enable the Catholics of the

Travancore Cochin state to halt the growth of communism in the state.

A Better Spirit of Union and Solidarity Among Catholics. Based on the firm realization that one is Catholic before he is a Latin or Syrian or Nordist or Sudhist or "500 or 700," and that the latter qualifications are merely accidental, a spirit of unity among Catholics should be achieved by means of a solid and living faith worthy of Catholics. This will enable the Catholics of the state to leaven the masses. It is a time when the enemies of the Church are uniting in their common effort to efface religion and God and the Church. It is a time when Catholics are called upon to engage in a life and death struggle with these enemies. It is a time when Catholics should ignore accidental differences among themselves. And it is a time when Catholics all over the state should form a united front to defeat the "United Front." The Communists teach a better lesson of unity than do the Catholics.³¹

A Better Propaganda Against Communism. All the methods which the communist uses must be pressed into service as counter propaganda. The press and the platform should be more active. Cheaper books, pamphlets, speeches, articles, and short stories exposing and refuting communist doctrine should be made available to all. Talented young men with the ability to write stories, poems, and other pieces of literature, should be encouraged to do so. Catholic laymen should be put in responsible positions to carry on the battle against communism on the lines of sound Catholic Action.

A Wholehearted Support of the Congress Government. It would sound

³¹ The writer has had occasion to witness the way in which the communists stand united by the party line, forgetting all differences between high caste and Harijan, eating together and mixing freely in social life.

strange to suggest that Catholics should adhere to a particular political party; but the concrete circumstances of the state and of the whole of India, would make it dangerous to distribute the votes of electors to various parties. The communist party would take advantage of the position thus created. In the last elections, Catholics to some extent were responsible for the defeat of the congress. Disgruntled Catholics, a few who had some feelings of vengeance against the congress and others actuated by personal motives, gave their support to other parties. At least until such a time when things settle down to normal, the congress party may be supported by the Catholics. To throw the whole weight of all the Catholics of the state to any party is indeed a big weight in a state like Travancore Cochin.

Reorganization of the educational system of Catholic schools. In this all important matter, the Catholics of the state should follow the example of Catholics all over the world. At present the Catholic schools of Malabar are only nominally Catholic, as they are not free to impart anything strictly Catholic. They are public schools. For the simple reason that they receive grant-in-aids from the state, the state has a right to control them and they do control them. The Catholics do not receive anything in return for the huge amounts of money they are spending on building and equipping schools. In one way the funds go to the education of pagans around them as Catholic schools take the duty of the state. Catholics should have their own schools in which they could teach and train the Catholic children as the

Church wants them.³² This would of course entail extra expenditure, but it is worth it.

This leads to the necessity of founding a Catholic university in Malabar. There are at present twelve Catholic colleges in the state affiliated to two universities. About eleven thousand students attend these colleges annually. If these colleges were unified into one university, more Catholic students could be educated and more technological subjects could be introduced. This would replace the practice of merely repeating the courses in arts and sciences. With the foundation of a Catholic university in Malabar, Catholic children could be educated in Catholic schools, as the Church wishes, and Catholic youth would be saved from the growing menace of communism. A Catholic university with high standards would be able to influence the intellectual world of the other communities too.³³

A Comprehensive Scheme of Social Reconstruction and Reform on a Parish Basis. To counteract the revolution of the communists, a new social order founded on the teaching of our Blessed Lord and the Church must be set up. The following practical courses of action would be of great help.

32 On the other hand, they pay heavily for it for the want of Catholic education. It is of no use to try to improve the existing system. The writer has been at this task for about fifteen years. In an education code revision committee, to which he had been appointed by the government of the state, he was obliged to submit a dissenting vote after failing to get through a motion for freedom of religious instruction in the schools.

33 A study group of the Newman in Ernakulam has unanimously suggested the foundation of a Catholic university in Malabar to save the state from communism.

1. The payment of a living wage by Catholic employers. The hierarchy may, in consultation with all concerned and taking into account the local conditions, fix a minimum wage and the nature of the living wage.
2. The formation of registered societies by Catholic employers and landlords to provide a scheme for housing the industrial workers and landless peasants.
3. The organization of labor unions in industrial areas and championing the cause of labor unions in industrial laborers, lest they should be absorbed by the communists.
4. Establishment of employment bureaus to assist the unemployed.
5. Supporting the Adult Education Scheme of the government.
6. Opening of dispensaries and centers of medical relief for the poor.
7. Education on civics, sanitation and health to the poor and the workers, particularly during the nights when they would be free.

Young men should be trained to give these lessons.

8. Charitable organizations like the Vincent DePaul Society should find a place in every parish and work efficiently.

Establishment of an organization of the type of National Catholic Conference of the United States of America, should supervise the efficient working of the above social institutions.

Promotion of the study of social sciences and social work. Even in high schools fundamentals of social life should be taught on a sound basis. Practical training in social work must be taken up as one of the items of work for students. The teachers should be given free refresher courses in the vacation times on these subjects.

CHAPTER VII

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY--ITS REPERCUSSIONS

Hitherto, attention has been concentrated on conditions in India; but in a world which, because of rapid scientific progress, is becoming smaller and smaller every day, it is but proper that consideration be given to the external conditions of foreign relations of the country. One can find in the world today two distinct blocs, one standing for freedom and democratic principles, and the other for a totalitarian set-up. To the former division may be assigned all the countries which reject the soviet ideology, and to the latter, as one solid bloc, Soviet Russia and its satellites. Tragic and delicate is the position of a country like India amidst sad Asian countries which are one by one turning to the left.

The Indian nation was aroused to the necessity of tackling the question of foreign policy when Communist China occupied Tibet, on the northern frontier of India. The voice of the people echoed in the speeches in the Indian Parliament on the sixth and seventh of December, 1950, when nineteen members of the house spoke, the majority of them expressing apprehension over the proximity of the Communist danger and reiterating the necessity of drawing up a general foreign policy for India and measures to cope with Chinese aggression in particular.¹

¹ The Times of India, Bombay; The Hindu, Madras; The Madras Mail, December 8-10, 1950.

With freedom newly won, with the nation slowly and steadily going about the difficult task of developing its own culture and of securing economic advance and social justice through democratic means, a violent and insidious threat to her freedom and democracy has appeared on the horizon. Communism having enslaved many countries in the west, has now turned towards the east. It uses a variety of tactics in its nefarious programme; but an internal subversion, through an efficient fifth column activity thoroughly controlled, directed and financed by the Kremlin, forms an essential part. The tragic episodes in the Eastern European countries, in Korea, Tibet and eventually in China corroborate this point. It is therefore necessary at this juncture to examine the foreign policy of India.

One can get an idea about the fundamental principles underlying India's foreign policy from the statements and the speeches made by the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, who is also in charge of the Foreign Affairs from time to time. Although Panditji himself has admitted that the country's foreign policy is "vague, inchoative and groping," it was made sufficiently clear that India believes in peace and non-violence and in a spirit of neutrality, doing everything possible to avoid war.

Immediately after the Independence, India had to face a number of delicate and potentially dangerous situations and consequently was obliged to improvise a foreign policy. The invasion of South Korea by the North Korean forces and the government of India's condemnation of the aggression, the United States proposal to bombard the Manchurian border and India's protest, the spirit of neutrality evinced by the Nehru government when the

powers of the world were forming treaties and alliances, the unequivocal declaration of the Prime Minister Nehru for the speedy termination of all colonialism in every part of the world--these are examples that serve to illustrate the broad lines of foreign relations of the country.

As for the Asian countries in particular, while the government of India has made it clear that it had no desire to assume leadership of Asian nations on account of its comparatively larger size, India's ancient heritage of culture and civilization, its population, resources and geographical position on the map of Asia, prompted the government of India to propose lines of peace, of consultation and cooperation on policies and programmes on which there could be a common agreement. This idea was responsible for the Asian conference called by Nehru in 1948. As for China, in particular, the government of India kept a very neutral position and would have nothing to do with either of the blocs there.

India is a member of the United Nations and the numerous associations connected with it. She was a member of the Security Council of the International Law Commission, of the Economic and Employment Commission of Transport and Communications Commissions, of the Statistical and Social Commissions, of the Commissions on Human Rights, of the Commission on the Status of Women, of the Commission on the Narcotic Drugs, and of the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East India.

The Indian Union has diplomatic relations and representations with 32 countries. There are 19 embassies, 8 legations, and 6 High Commissioners' Offices in Delhi, the Capital of India.

The foreign policy of India with the United States of America deserves special mention. The two countries have exchanged Embassies. The Indian Ambassador in Washington is accredited to Mexico, too. The contacts between India and the United States have been growing extensively. A large number of United States technical experts have been sent to India under the Point Four Program or in connection with specific development projects now in progress. In 1951, the government of the United States extended to India a food loan of the value of \$190 millions. In 1952 a sum of \$50 million was granted to India under two agreements for the Community Projects Programme. The United States also has inaugurated a scheme of scholarships for the mutual benefit of students and professional men and with a view to strengthen cultural contacts. In 1949 in compliance with the invitation of President Truman, Prime Minister Nehru visited the United States. An agreement under the provisions of the Fulbright Act provided for the financing and execution of cultural and educational programmes for the mutual benefit of both the countries. The agreement provided for an expenditure up to \$400,000 from the fund realized from the sale of United States surplus property in India. In 1950 a general agreement of technical cooperation under Point Four between the two countries was signed. Another agreement between India and CARE (Cooperatives for American Remittance to Europe, Inc.) provided for the extension of the activities of that organization to India. Under this agreement, individuals and organizations in the United States have been sending food, clothing and ploughs for the distribution to the needy in India and books of a non-controversial character to the educational institutions

and libraries.

As for the foreign policy of India with regard to the Communist countries, there is apprehension in the heart of every thinking citizen of India as well as in the democratic and freedom-loving countries the world over. There is no harm in keeping up a policy of peace, non-violence, non-alignment, and good neighborliness; but the fact remains that Communist countries follow a definite program entirely controlled by the Soviet, that Communism infiltrates slowly and treacherously into the masses, and, finally, that when the time comes it will launch its wild and violent attacks on the country. Realizing, however, an apparent coldness on the part of the Prime Minister in dealing with China in particular, several members of Parliament raised the issue in the house. Sri P. Y. Deshpands was squarely facing the issue when he openly asked the Prime Minister in the House:

I ask the Prime Minister this question. Does he honestly feel that there can be any aggression from Britain and America on India at any time during his life time or later? I am sure, he will say, "No" to that. But will he be able to say with equal confidence that he has no fear of aggression from Russia and communist China. I want a categorical answer to that question. And so far as I am concerned, if there is fear for our independence, if there is fear from any side, it is the Red peril and Communist peril and unless we gird up our loins, to fight this menace of communism, there can be no peace for the world. We have to make up our mind on that point once and for all. When I plead for arms up against the menace of communism, I do not want the Prime Minister to align himself with this nation or that nation. All I would submit is this: Let us stand loyally by our constitution and let us equally loyally stand by our United Nations Organization and no other Organization, so that that organization may be a dynamic force in the world.²

2 Democratic Research Service, For a Democratic Foreign Policy, p.

Dr. S. P. Mookerji, in an able speech in Parliament, blamed India's attitude of indifferentism towards communist China:

There are certain fundamental and basic ideologies for which India has stood, and even stands today. We stand for freedom of expression, for freedom of thought, for freedom of association and religion and our constitution has been based on sound principles of Democracy. India will not and cannot accept any principles attached to totalitarianism or dictatorship. If there is an ultimate conflict between these two ideals, we can not just sit on the fence. By all means let us try to negotiate; but if there is ultimate conflict, then what will India do? If the possibility of danger comes to India, can India alone, by herself, defend her territory against a big aggression? There are big question marks. It is not my purpose to go into detailed questions today. But I would certainly tell the Prime Minister that the people of India expect that there should be a more realistic approach in respect of the foreign policy of India. No doubt, we stand for peace; but the inconsistencies and uncertainties of our foreign policy are making us slowly drift towards something which may bring disaster to India more quickly than what many think.³

India has a variety of problems to tackle, among them the problem of internal peace and solidarity and the problems of economic stability and strengthening the military. Under the existing conditions, it is beyond doubt that India cannot manage all this alone; consequently, she has to do it in collaboration with others with whom she could stand on a common platform in defense of her ideologies and democracy.

On the other hand, it has been proved beyond doubt exactly what lies behind the mask China is wearing and exactly what her attitude is

³ Speech in the Parliament, December 7, 1950. Confer The Times of India, Bombay, December 8, 1950.

towards India, in spite of all the good will India gave her. Mao Tse tung's message of greetings and good wishes for the "liberation of India and for the hope of soon falling in line with communist China⁴ to Ranadive, then the General Secretary of the Communist party in India, which is trying to overthrow the government, is not a matter of ancient history. In due reward for all what Panditji and the government of India did for China and Tibet, it is surprising that the "New China News Agency" reported: "Angle-American imperialists and their running dog Pandit Nehru, were plotting a coup in Lhasa for the annexation of Tibet." The same News Agency enthusiastically hoped that "the Chinese people's liberation army will hoist the Red Flag over the Himalayas."⁵

Mr. M. R. Masani was certainly voicing the sentiments of the people of India when he spoke about the foreign policy of India in the Parliament in 1950. The concluding portion of his memorable speech is worth reproducing here. If only the Prime Minister Nehru in his far sighted policy and political wisdom would follow the definite policy clearly enunciated by Mr. Masani, India's security from foreign aggression and her national freedom and prosperity would suffer no harm. Vacillation, compromise and subtle gymnastics of diplomacy are not bound to help the nation at this juncture.

"I would conclude suggesting that India's foreign policy should have two pillars. One should be a hundred per cent and unstinted support of the

⁴ M. R. Masani's Speech in the Parliament, December 7, 1950. Confer the Times of India, December 8, 1950.

⁵ Quoted by Masani. Confer D.R.S., p. 54.

United Nations and their decisions taken democratically. Some days back, Marshall Tito declared--he also, like us, said that he was not joining any bloc--that he would abide by the decision of the majority of the United Nations taken democratically. I suggest that is a line we might adopt in the future. And no less a person than the Congress President, Mr. Purushottandas Tandon, recently declared that in the unfortunate event of war, this country must line up with the United Nations because India believes in the Charter and the principles of the United Nations.⁶

The second pillar should be our own national interests. Our national interests dictate that India needs food and economic assistance from countries that can supply it. These countries are the democracies of the West. They are our own colleagues in the Commonwealth, the United States of America, the countries of Scandinavia, and those other democracies from which we can obtain materials, food, and capital goods. We have so far been so eager to please the Russian and Chinese communist dictatorships that we have not availed ourselves fully of the possibilities in the direction of the democracies. I would conclude with the words of our Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, who recently spoke the following in Ahmedabad:

Our foreign policy is not to align with any bloc. The American Ambassador recently declared in Bombay that America was desirous of helping India in her economic recovery. Free India is in her infancy, in spite of her ancient culture. We should not reject the offer of American aid for fear of arousing suspicion of other countries. America does not aspire to be a colonial power. We have won our freedom by our own efforts and with the grace of God.

⁶ The Hindu, Madras, December 8, 1950.

If America help us to increase our power for world peace, we should accept it.⁷

Mr. Masani continues:

I am confident that in these words lies a more realistic approach to the problems of the day--that we should act and strengthen ourselves against both the political and economic dangers that threaten us and should do so in the company and comradeship of the other free nations of the world.⁸

58-59. 7 Democratic Research Service, For a Democratic Foreign Policy, pp.

8 Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The writer has been trying to make clear during the course of this study that the vast continent of India is dangerously exposed to the threat of Communism and that an efficient handling of the socio-economic situation in the country would greatly help in the removal of the Red menace. The Communist Party in India was conceived in Moscow; it is being directed by Moscow; Communist leaders from Britain and the international communist movement have been helping the comrades in India. Hence, as Mr. Masani remarks:

The activities and fortunes of the Indian Communist party are not directly inspired or affected by the condition of the Indian people, their poverty or their prosperity, but by the fortunes of the Soviet dictatorship of which they are an appendage.¹

This policy will certainly continue as it has done in other Soviet dominated countries. Unless the Indian nation is clearly aware of Soviet moves, the freedom and democracy which the Indian nation has won at the cost of such hardship and struggle will soon be imperiled. India's choice at the moment, therefore, is between a full-fledged free democratic government founded on the ideals set forth by Mahatma Gandhi and a totalitarian dictatorship led by the Soviet Union.

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister and leader of the nation, has been trying to bring home to his countrymen this tragic position of the nation.

¹ Masani, The Communist Party of India, p. 220.

While addressing the electorate in the Travancore Cochin in February 1954, Nehru has charged the Communist Party of India of their allegiance and leanings to the Soviet, of their undemocratic spirit and he timely warned his listeners, "If you follow the communist party, I am sure, the unity of India will be shattered."²

The Indian nation as a whole should at this critical juncture of the history of the country, with full realisation of impending peril, wholeheartedly follow the able leadership of the Indian national Congress and render ready co-operation to the government. Both the Union Government and the local Governments should be gravely concerned with the Communist success in the Travancore Cochin, Madras, West Bengal, Hyderabad and Tripura states, which together returned 26 out of 27 the communist total members to the House of the People and should concentrate all possible efforts to free these states from further advances on the part of the Communists.

The writer concludes in the words of Mr. Masani,

In such a situation, the Communist Party in India is a dagger pointed at the heart of democracy in the most populous country in the world, outside the Iron Curtain. Its role is to disrupt the national economy create intellectual confusion, infiltrate into key positions and prepare for the day, when in the face of national emergency or international crisis, it may be in a position to paralyse the will to resist. Only purposeful democratic leadership that rouses the country to the internal and external dangers with which it is faced can immunise India from this threat. In the final analysis it is in the hands of non-communists that the destiny of India rests.³

² The Hindu, Madras, February 9, 10, and 11, 1954, Times of India, Bombay, February 10, 1954.

³ The Communist Party of India, p. 250-1.

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APPENDIX

PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

1. When the British imperialist rulers of India established the government of the leadership of the National Congress in Delhi, in August 1947, and the hated British Viceroy and Governors departed from this country, the people of India were led to believe that foreign imperialist rule was at an end, that India had achieved independence and freedom and that now the government and the people could work out a happy life for the millions of our countrymen, with our resources of land and labour, our factories and workshops, our immense natural wealth and manpower. We could now set to work to gradually overcome our poverty and guarantee food, housing, clothing and the minimum decencies of life to everyone.

2. Four years of the Nehru Government in power has belied the hopes of the masses in every respect. Experience has led them to the conclusion that the Government of National Congress that rose to power on the basis of the heroic struggle of the masses is a government pledged to the protection and preservation of parasitic landlords and the wealth of the princes of India, who for centuries had supported the foreign invaders and jointly with them robbed our people and our country. Experience is also leading them to the conclusion that the government of the National Congress was installed in power by the consent of British imperialists because it was a government pledged to the protection and preservation of foreign British capital in India. In every sphere of life of the masses, the government has failed to carry out its promises to the people. Every day, life for the masses has worsened while the landlords and profiteers have enriched themselves more and more at the expense of the people.

3. The five million workers manning our factories, railways, mines, shipyards, plantations, etc., are suffering from fall in real wages, rising prices, capitalist rationalisation and unemployment. Their struggles for better wages and conditions are drowned in blood by shooting and police terror. Their fighting trade union organisations are disrupted, divided and suppressed by the government and its henchmen. Demanding increased production in the name of the people the government only imposes worsened conditions of labour on the working class, enabling the profiteers to increase their profits alone.

4. The millions of our peasants constituting eighty per cent of our people are ground down as before. Those who have land and can cultivate it, their fruits of labour are looted by the landlord and the moneylender, through exorbitant rents and interests, and by the manoeuvres of the capita-

list market and taxes of the State. But three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own. Those who have no land and find no work live in conditions of perpetual pauperism. And those who do find work on the landlords' and sowcars' (moneylenders) estates, as agricultural labourers or poor tenants, have to work like serfs and slaves, hardly getting even a subsistence wage for the family. As a result production of food and industrial raw materials is falling, leading to the worst food crisis in the country and starvation and death to millions. While the government run by the landlords and profiteers shouts about abolition of landlordism, it only hatches schemes of compensation of millions of rupees to those oppressors of the people, to enable them thus to indirectly realise their rent through the State from the toil of the peasant. The struggles of the peasantry for land, for reduction of rent, interest and taxes are also drowned in blood and their organisations suppressed, along with the struggles and organisations of the working class. Whole villages, talukas and districts are handed over to military and police occupation, because the peasants and the landless labourers have dared to ask for land, for reduction of rent and interest and for increased wages and the establishment of better conditions.

5. The middle-classes in the towns are faring no better. High cost of living, falling salaries and unemployment is their lot too. The middle-class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, insurance companies, commercial concerns, schools and colleges etc., are faced with the same problem of life as the working class and the toiling peasantry.

6. Even the industrialists, manufacturers and traders are hit by the policies of this government which is totally in the grip of monopoly financiers, landlords and princes and their foreign British advisers, working behind the screen. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, transport, import and export licences, etc., is carried out by the bureaucrats in the government machinery in such a way as to hit the small industrialists and traders and benefit the big monopolists in league with the banks and syndicates of foreign firms.

7. The schemes of "reconstruction", of building irrigation, hydro-electric stations, factories, etc., whether directly by the state or in partnership with private capital are all foundering, except such as feed war purposes. They are turning out to be the means of looting the state budget by foreign firms of experts and suppliers, by high-placed bureaucrats in charge and big speculators on the Stock Exchange. The demand for nationalisation of industries, promoted by the looting of the people by blackmarketeers, is used to swindle the state budget by making it acquire bankrupt or worn out units or participate in bogus schemes, which invariably fail and are then sold out to the government henchmen and private capitalists. The result is that industrialisation of the country which is held at the mercy of the British and the Americans and who certainly are not interested in making India an industrial nation, is making no headway in the hands of this government which is tied to the chariot-wheels of British capital.

8. And whatever industries exist are continually finding themselves in a crisis, because of the growing poverty of the masses, especially the peasantry, does not give them an adequate market inside the country. Outside as well as inside the country, they come up against the competition of foreign firms and other imperialist masters of the colonial world and thus find themselves in a deadlock.

9. On the top of all this comes the fact that this tottering government in order to keep itself in saddle, when faced with the rising discontent of the masses, suppresses all civil liberties of the people, outlaws political parties and groups, bans trade unions and other people's organisations, imprisons thousands of workers, peasants, students, men and women in prisons and concentration camps. The supreme ruler becomes the police official and the bureaucrat, helped by the local Congress leader and landlord in the whole countryside. No wonder that to maintain such a police state, the burden of taxes increases and more than fifty percent of the state budget is spent on military and police, prisons and the bureaucracy and not for food and cloth, houses and education, health and sanitation for the people.

10. The people of India are gradually realising the meaning of this state of affairs and are coming to realise the necessity to change this government of landlords and princes, this government of financial sharks and speculators, this government hanging on to the will of the British Commonwealth, the British imperialists. The disillusioned masses are slowly rising in struggle, no longer able to withstand this state of slow starvation and death. They are rising in struggles of the working class in towns and resistance of the peasantry in the countryside.

11. In order to prevent this growing unity of the people, mainly the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, the unity of all classes that are interested in ending this government of landlords and princes and the reactionary big bourgeoisie, collaborating with the British imperialists, the present government is utilising other means apart from police repression.

12. Knowing the desire of the people to make our country completely independent of British imperialism, the government has proclaimed India a Republic. But unwilling really to break its ties with imperialism, it has shamelessly proclaimed the Republic to be a part of the Empire!

The membership of the British Empire is not only a formal matter, as is declared. While playing on the rivalries between England and America, to its own advantage in certain circumstances, the government of India essentially carries out the foreign policy of British imperialism. Though it speaks for peace and against the atomic bomb under pressure from the people, who do not want war and want peace, it has not hesitated to send help, even though nominally medical to the American troops in Korea; it has allowed British imperialists to recruit Gurkhas and Sikhs for the suppression of

Malaya's fight for independence; it has allowed landing bases in India for the French planes on their way to fight against the People's Republic of Viet Nam. The Indian Navy operates as part of the British Navy and under British Command and the keys to the military technique of the Defence Department of the government are held and moved by British advisers. If the independence of the armed forces of a country is a sign of its sovereignty and independence, then the key part of our independence is still left in the hands of British imperialism.

In addition to this subservience to British imperialists, the policies of the government of India are leading to penetration of American imperialists into our economy and life, into the affairs of State and threaten us with added slavery to American capital.

13. The British imperialists before covering their rule with the mantle of the new Congress government drowned the country in Hindu-Muslim strife and massacres and then divided the country into the two states of India and Pakistan. The imperialists thereby weakened the economy of India in agriculture and the economy of Pakistan in industry. It thus put both the States at loggerheads and undeclared war with each other and dependent on the so-called "neutral third party", the imperialists.

The division of the country enabled the Congress government to drown the just demands of the people in a hysteria of Hindu-Muslim war. It enabled the government to spend on armaments the money which could have been used to improve the conditions of the people. It enabled them to buy armaments from the British imperialists who desired nothing better than to sell their second-hand goods and services in exchange for its sterling debts to India and Pakistan, and to deprive our people of supplies of machinery and essential goods.

14. The division of the country and communal religious strife was used to drown the demands of the various nationalities of India for their free development, for the reconstitution of the former mixed British provinces and the princely states into autonomous linguistic provinces in a united India. In the name of a united country, the language of a part of the country, namely, Hindi, was declared an obligatory state language for all nationalities and states, to the detriment of their own national language. Vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture are put at the mercy of the landlords and financial sharks of this or that alien group, thus utilising the desire of the masses for a united country to actually sow division and discord among its people.

15. In order, finally, to come forward as a government of the people, after spending millions of the people's money on wrangling in legislative houses, the government produced what it calls a democratic constitution and in terms of that constitution calls upon the people to elect a government of their own choice and realise the fundamental rights given under

the constitution. Thus the people are told that they can end the present rule of autocracy if they so desire and work their freedom through this "democratic" constitution of the free Republic of India.

16. While it is a fact that universal adult franchise now exists in the constitution of India and it can and will be used by the people, it is a deception of the people to say that elections alone under this constitution can end the landlord-capitalist rule in the country and the imperialist hold over its life. Adult franchise serves to gauge the maturity of the working class and the people and is formally an element of democracy but it cannot express the true will and the true interests of the exploited masses as long as the land is not the property of peasants but that of the landlords, as long as the power of landlords and capitalists holds the people in subjugation in fields and factories, so long as the power of capital over the press and means of propaganda drugs the people with lies, so long as the power of money utilises religious and caste frictions and rivalries to divide and to weaken the people, so long as the bureaucrats and the police ban political parties, suppress civil liberties and imprison without trial even the elected representatives of the legislatures for their political opinions and for their honest work.

17. It is also a deception of the people to say that under the new constitution the masses or the government elected by them can work their way to freedom and happiness. The constitution guarantees no rights to the people which are enforceable in any way or which are not subject to violation by the emergency autocratic decrees of the bureaucracy which is irremovable and inviolate. The right to strike, to living wage, to work and rest for the working class and salaried employees is not guaranteed and made enforceable. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the dethroned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation, capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore, the poor peasants have to stay without land and continue their existence in poverty. It is characteristic that by several treaties with Britain and America, the government had made the property of foreign holders in our country sacred and inviolable, having provided them with such guarantees that even their profits cannot be touched and have to be let out of the country in the way they like. And this at a time when the government refuses to guarantee the citizens from the club-law of the police officers and from the plunder on the part of the moneylenders and profiteers.

Thus while the stranglehold of landlords, princes and imperialists on our economy, land and capital is guaranteed by this constitution not a single item of the life and liberty of our masses is guaranteed, beyond stating them as pious illusory wishes. The constitution is not and cannot be called a truly democratic constitution but is a constitution of a landlord-capitalist state, tied to foreign imperialist interests—mainly British.

18. It is quite natural that in view of the terrible conditions described above, dooming the people to poverty and subjecting them to a lawless regime, the people have lost their faith in the present government, they are becoming deeply distrustful of it and start to consider it their enemy who is protecting the landlords, moneylenders and other exploiters against the people. Moreover, the masses of the people openly voice their discontent and revolt in several provinces against the inhuman regime of the present government and are seeking out ways to substitute this government by a new people's government able to express the will and interests of the people, able to protect it against the oppression of landlords, capitalists, profiteers, moneylenders and foreign imperialists.

19. Faced with these facts, the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to outline to the people the practical programme which the Communist Party of India upholds and which should be put into effect by the people of India if they wish to come out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present government, if they wish to attain their freedom and happiness.

While adhering to the aim of building a socialist society the Communist Party is not demanding the establishment of socialism in our country in the present stage of our development. In view of the backwardness of the economic development of India and of the weakness of the mass organisations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, our Party does not find it possible at present to carry out socialist transformations in our country. But, our Party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular government by a new government of People's Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country, capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against the competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people of unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence.

What are the practical tasks which, in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, should be carried out by the new People's Democratic Government?

These tasks are as follows:

IN THE FIELD OF STATE STRUCTURE

20. The sovereignty of the people, i.e. the concentration of all power in the country in the hands of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives who will be

electd by the people and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of electors and who shall constitute a single popular assembly, a single legislative chamber.

21. The restriction of the rights of the President of the Republic, in virtue of which the President and persons authorised by him will be deprived of the right to promulgate laws, which have not been passed by the legislature. The President shall be elected by the legislature.

22. Universal, equal and direct suffrage for all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in all elections to the Legislative Assembly and to the various local government bodies; secret ballot, the right of every voter to be elected to any representatives, proportional representation of political parties in all elections.

23. Local government on a wide scale and with wide powers through People's Committees. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed from above (e.g. governors, magistrates commissioners, etc.).

24. Inviolability of person and domicile; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

25. Equal rights for all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality, equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex.

Social disabilities from which women suffer shall be abolished and they shall be given protection to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to professions and service, etc.

Social and economic oppression of one caste by another or social and personal bans and prohibitions imposed by the so-called upper castes on the lower castes, especially the Scheduled Castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion shall be abolished and made punishable by law.

Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

26. The right of all nationalities to self-determination. The Republic of India will unite the peoples of the various nationalities of India not by force but by their voluntary consent to the creation of a common state.

27. The present boundaries of the states in the Indian Union shall be recast and states shall be reconstituted according to the principle of common language. Princely states, where existing, shall be dissolved

into the appropriate adjoining national states, and the foreign possessions shall be restored to the country and reconstituted on the same principle. The tribal areas or areas where the population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social conditions or constitutes a national minority will have complete regional autonomy and regional governments, and full assistance for their development.

28. Introduction of progressive income tax in industry, agriculture and trade and maximum relief in taxation for workers, peasants and artisans.

29. Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state in all its public and state institutions; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region, where necessary, in addition to the national language. Use of Hindi as an all-India state language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between governments of different States and between people of different States. In Hindusthani-speaking areas, safe-guard and protection to Urdu and Devnagri scripts and the right of the people to use either of the two scripts.

30. Measures to foster, encourage and develop such literature, art and culture as will:

—help each nationality including the tribal people to develop their language and culture in their own way and in unison with the common aspirations of the democratic masses of the country as a whole;

—help the democratic masses in their struggle to improve their living conditions and enrich their life;

—help the toiling people to get rid of caste and communal hatred and prejudices and ideas of fear, subservience and superstition traditionally inculcated in them by the landlord-bourgeois classes;

—help all people grow feelings of brotherhood with the peace-loving people of all countries and discourage ideas of racial and national hatred;

—discourage imperialist war propaganda and help people to realise peace and freedom for all.

31. The right of all persons to sue any official before a People's Court.

32. Separation of the State from all religious institutions. The State to be a secular state.

33. Free and compulsory primary education for the children of both sexes upto the age of fourteen.

34. Replacement of the police by militia. Elimination of the mercenary army and other punitive forces and the establishment of a national army, navy and air force for the defence of India, closely linked with the people.

35. The establishment of the people's health service with a wide network of medical centres and hospitals all over the country designed to liquidate the centres of cholera, malaria and other epidemic diseases in the country.

IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE AND THE PEASANT PROBLEM

The agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country.

We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.

We cannot develop our national industries and industrialise our country to any considerable extent because the impoverished peasantry constituting 80 per cent of the population is unable to buy even a minimum quantity of manufactured goods.

We cannot make our state stable to any extent because the peasantry living in conditions of semi-starvation receives no support from the Government, hates it and refuses to support it.

We cannot improve the conditions of the working class to any considerable extent because hundreds of thousands of hungry people forced by poverty to leave the countryside for towns swarm the "labour market", lower "prices of labour", increase the army of unemployed and thus make the improvement of the living standards of the working people impossible.

We cannot work our way out of cultural backwardness because the peasantry, living in conditions of semi-starvation, constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, is deprived of any material means to give education to its children.

In order to get rid of all these evils and get our country out of cultural backwardness, it is necessary to create human conditions of existence for the peasants, it is necessary to take land from the land-

lords and hand it over to the peasants.

To achieve this, it is necessary:

36. To hand over landlords' land without payment to the peasants including agricultural labourers and to legalise this reform in the form of a special land law and thus realise abolition of landlordism without compensation.

37. To ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary seeds. To ensure long-term and cheap credit to small artisans to enable them to purchase raw materials, etc., and carry on their manufacture and trade.

38. To ensure government assistance to the peasants in the improvement of old and the building of new irrigation systems.

39. To cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to moneylenders.

40. To ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers.

IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRY AND THE LABOUR PROBLEM

Our national industry suffers not only from an extremely low purchasing power of the peasants but also from the fact that it is exposed to competition on the part of foreign goods in the country. Manufacturers who are not protected by the government from ruinous foreign competition, try to make good their losses which arise from this competition by increasing pressure on the working class, by worsening its conditions of the workers deteriorate, for a hungry and moneyless worker cannot be an adequate factor for the development of modern industry. This circumstance is another reason for the insufficient development of our national industry. To break through this vicious circle, it is necessary to guard our national industry against the competition of foreign goods, to launch an all-out industrialisation of the country and to improve the conditions of the working class. The Communist Party of India considers that to achieve this, it is necessary:

41. To provide for the protection of the national industry against the competition of foreign goods in the country by promulgating appropriate laws.

42. To develop the national industry and to prepare conditions for the industrialisation of the country without sparing any efforts and resources of the state to achieve this end.

43. To regulate and co-ordinate the various sectors of economy in order to achieve a planned economic development of the country in the interests of the people.

44. To improve radically the living and working conditions of workers by: fixing a living wage, application of the eight-hour day and forty-four hour week in all industries and trades, introduction of a six-hour day in underground mines and other trades injurious to health, social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every kind of disability and unemployment, establishment of labour exchanges working in association with Trade Unions, establishment of industrial courts, recognition of Trade Unions, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike.

45. To introduce effective control of prices of goods of mass consumption.

46. The problem of the refugee population, mainly of the millions of the uprooted workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, etc., must be resolved by their speedy rehabilitation by the State and specially by providing them with land, instruments of labour, employment and facilities for developing their life in their own national way.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA

To become a truly independent state, India has to break with the Empire, to put an end to the domination of the British capital in the country's economy and to get rid of the British advisers.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers necessary:

47. The withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire.

48. The confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, plantations, shipping and mining owned by the British in India, whether in their own name or under the signboard of Indian companies.

49. Removal of the British advisers in India from the posts held by them.

FOUNDATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

The chief enemy of peace and advocate of an aggressive war is

now the United States of America which has rallied round herself all aggressive countries. This camp of war is facing the camp of peace which includes such states as the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other countries of People's Democracy. Instead of joining hands with the partisans of peace against the aggressors and branding the United States of America as chief aggressor, the Indian government is carrying on a suspicious play between these two camps, and is flirting with the USA thus facilitating the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. What India needs is not play between peace and war, but a united front with peace-loving countries and friendship with them.

Still less in India's interests is the wrangling in which the Indian Union and Pakistan are engaged and which is not counteracted on the part of the present Indian government.

The unbalancing of the integral economy of India caused by the division of the country, the strife between Pakistan and India, which enables the reactionary ruling circles to divide the people and provides the American and British imperialists with opportunities for intervention, as in Kashmir, and for increasing their domination over both, will be overcome by a firm alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between India and the State of Pakistan. India must also enter into friendly alliance with the States of Ceylon and Nepal.

The economy of Ceylon is dependent on and complementary to that of India. Quite a large section of its people are formed from Indian plantation and other workers who have migrated to Ceylon. The Ceylonese and Indian landlords and traders incite the Indian and Ceylonese workers against each other to gain their selfish ends. The absence of alliance is utilised by the imperialists and their henchmen to sow discord among all these states and to sow hatred among their peoples, leading to the eviction of millions of people from their homeland. Only a firm alliance and friendship can defeat this game of imperialists and the reactionary ruling circles of these countries.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to guarantee the following:

50. Honest and consistent policy of peace in alliance with all peace-loving states and united front with them against aggressors.

51. The policy of economic co-operation with all states capable of carrying on economic co-operation without any discrimination whatsoever on the basis of full equality.

52. The policy of alliance and friendship with Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal.

53. The policy of doing its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Indians residing abroad.

1 The Communist Party of India, Programme of the Communist Party of India, New Delhi, 1954.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Francis Sales, T.O.C.D. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

1/26/55
Date

Paul Mundy
Signature of Adviser